

MUSLIM MINORITY IN CHINA

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## MUSLIM MINORITY IN CHINA

### I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

#### (1) Muslim Settlements in China During the Tang and Sung Dynasties

According to one of the authentic Muslim traditions, Mohammed, the Prophet of Islam (571-632) has said: "Seek knowledge even if it is in China."<sup>1</sup> This short statement established three facts: First, there was some sort of direct or indirect contact between Arabia and China even before the advent of Islam, through which the name of China became well known to the Arabs at the time when the Prophet began to preach his message to the World. Second, China was known to the Arabs as a highly cultured and civilized country, geographically situated very far from Arabia, the cradle of Muslim faith. Third, the followers of the Prophet, and after him, the followers of Islam were encouraged to seek knowledge in that distant land already known to them as China.

The Prophet died at Medinah in 632 and a few decades later the believers of Islam (including the Arabs and Persians) began to adventure to China, by land and sea, first as envoys, then as traders and merchants, and in the period of the Yuan dynasty as officials, scholars and preachers. And instead of seeking knowledge they found enormous opportunities to gain wealth and to spread their faith and influence in China. This

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1. In Arabic original it is: اطلبوا العلم ولو في الصين



necessitated first to establish their settlements in the seaports and to found a colony in the Capital of the Tang dynasty, which was at that time, Changan (now Si-an in the present province of Shensi). Thus those who went to China by sea along the Indian coast and Java first settled in "Kan'ü," the present Canton, then inward to Chuan-chow, Yang-chow and Hang-chow and those who travelled by land via Central Asia and Turkistan, made Chang-an their last halt.

Chinese history records many "Tashi" envoys<sup>1</sup> who came to China to "pay tribute" and for other purposes. The first one, according to Chinese and European authorities, such as Professor Chen Yuan and Chang Shin-Lang of the Catholic University of Peking, and Marshall Broomhall and Isaac Mason, was in the second year of Yung Hui (651). Their conclusion was based on the Chapter of "the Description of the 'Tashis'" in the Old Tang Shu and in Chai-fu-Yuan-kui (冊府元龜). Both of these sources stated: "In the second year of 'Yung Hui,' during the reign of the Emperor Kao-Chung of the Great Tang Dynasty, (618-905), envoys from the Kingdom of 'Tashi' visited the Imperial Court, having brought with them presents to the Emperor. The Envoys stated that their Kingdom had been established 34 years ago and that it was the third 'Amirul Mouminin' on the Throne."<sup>2</sup>

A glance at the Arab missions which came to China between 651 and 800, of which 16 were supposed to have come

1. "Tashi" in the Records of the Tang Dynasty, is the Persian word "Tazi," which means: "The Arabs."

2. Fu Thong-Hsien, Chinese Muslim History, (Changsha, 1940) p. 21.



from the "White-Robed" Tashi and 12 from the "Black-Robed" Tashi,<sup>1</sup> shows that they were sent for different purposes: some might be assumed for political reasons: to find out conditions, to "seek knowledge" and to gather information about affairs in China; some others were for commercial purposes. It might be assumed too that some Arab merchants had come to China with these envoys, or in separate groups in the early decades of the 8th Century. Their number gradually increased as time went on and by the end of this Century they firmly established their positions at, besides the capital of the Tang dynasty, "Kanfu" (Canton), then spread in the succeeding centuries to Chuan-chow, Yang-chow and Hang-chow, and for the purpose of permanent trade they formed in these cities their special settlements.

"Kanfu" was no doubt, the Chinese port where a large Muslim community consisting of Arab and Persian merchants and their families was found as early as the 8th century.

Sulaiman Al-Sirafi, who went to China several times in the first half of the 9th century for the purpose of trade, has left us a first hand information about Arab trade with China and the Muslim life in the City of "Kanfu," in the 9th century. This Arab merchant wrote a book in 851 entitled "Silsilah Al-Tarikh" to which Abu Zaid of Basra added a second volume. In this book about the Muslim settlers at "Kanfu," Sulaiman thus stated: "In this city there are a great number of Muslims. They have their Kadi to look after their affairs; the Kadi is appointed by the Chinese authority. On Id-days, he leads the

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1. In the Records of Tang Dynasty, "White Robed" and "Black-Robed" Tashi means: "The Omayyads" and the "Abbasides."



prayers and delivers sermons and prays for the Sultan of the Muslims."<sup>1</sup>

From these words one can understand that the Muslim settlers in these early days had a well organized religious as well as a social life in 'Kanfu.'

During the Sung Dynasty (960-1277), the Muslims at 'Kanfu' usually resided in the western part of the city which later on became known as the "Foreign Quarters" (蕃坊), and it was also sometimes called "Foreign Bazaar" (蕃市). They had their own headman elected from the foreign Muslim residents, but appointed by an Imperial decree. He might be an Arab or Persian and his function was to look into the affairs of the Muslim merchants in their relation to the local government, especially in paying particular attention to the 'tributes' which foreign merchants had to offer. His official dress was Chinese and his office was called "the Bureau of the Headman of the Foreign Residents."<sup>2</sup>

There is a very ancient mosque at Canton, called Hwei-Shen-Tze, (Mosque is Commemoration of the Prophet); the date of its foundation is not known, but it is generally believed that it was built in the 8th Century, sometime near to the date of the mosque built at Sianfu. The Kwang-chow Records said: "Hwei-Shen-Tze was built by foreigners during the Tang Dynasty and was rebuilt in the Ming Dynasty."

In Chuan-chow the Muslims during the Sung dynasty had

1. Sulaiman Al-Sirafi, Silsilah Al-Tarikh, (Paris, 1845), Vol. I, p. 14.

2. Pei Shao-Yi, Collection of Materials on Muslim History in China (Shanghai, 1948), p. 151.



their residential quarters south of the city, along the river, generally called "South Chuan-chow." Later on their residence extended and spread into the city. The oldest mosque in Chuan-chow is known as 'Ching Tseng-Tze' (清淨寺), built in 1121. According to a Chinese inscription found in this mosque, it was built by an Arab merchant named Najib Mazharuddin who arrived there in 1121 and bought a piece of land in the south city and founded the mosque which after completion was endowed with landed properties by the founder. This city was visited by the well-known Muslim traveller of the 14th Century, Ibn Batutah of Tangier, in the later years of the Yuan Dynasty. Here he met many Arab and Persian Muslim scholars and divines, such as the Kadi, the Sheikh al-Islam and the big Muslim merchants, among whom were Sharfuddin of Tabriz and Burhanuddin of Kazrun.<sup>1</sup>

The history of Sung Dynasty does not mention where the Muslims resided in Hangchow. Nevertheless, it was noted by writers of the Yuan Dynasty (1277-1367) that the residential quarter of the Muslims in Hangchow at that time was inside the present Ching Tai-men (Gate of Perfect Peace). Probably this was the original place where Muslims took their residence ever since their arrival at the city. They had their organizations, their mosques and schools. Ibn Batutah visited this city and described the conditions of the Muslims in the following words:

"'Khansa'<sup>2</sup> consists of six cities. . . . It is in the third city that Muslims inhabited. Theirs is a fine city, and

1. Ibn Batutah's Travels in Asia and Africa, H.A.R. Gibb's Translation, (London 1953), p. 290.

2. A corruption of the Chinese 京師



their bazaars are arranged just as they are in Islamic countries; they have their mosques in it and the 'muzzelins-' we heard them calling to the noon prayers. We stayed in the mansion of the family of Othman Ibn Affan of Egypt. He was a wealthy merchant who built a cathedral mosque and endowed it with large benefact. The number of Muslims in this city is very large. . . . The Governor of the city entertained us in his house. He had Muslim cooks brought who slaughtered the animals with Muslim ritual. . . . He sent his son to accompany us to make a round in the Lake. We went on board a boat and the Governor's son went on another along with musicians and singers. They sang in Chinese, Arabic and Persian. The Governor's son was a great admirer of Persian melody and when they sang a certain Persian poem, he commanded them to repeat it over and over again, until I heard it from them by heart. It goes on like this:

Ta dil bimihaanat dadim      dar bahr fikr uftadim  
Chun dar Namaz istadim      Kawi dar mihrab andrim."<sup>1</sup>

Ibn Batutah's description of the conditions of the Muslims in Hangchow in the beginning of the 14th century not only gives us a vivid picture of Muslim life, their organization and influence in the market, but also their cultural influence among the people. There were musicians who sang Arabic and Persian songs. The song quoted in Ibn Batutah was from one of the best 'qasidas' of Sa'adi, the Persian Moralist who died about 1290.

In another seaport, Yangchow, there was also a Muslim settlement in the 8th century. The Old Tang Shuh stated:

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1. Gibb, *op. cit.*, p. 296.



"When the soldiers of the rebel General Tien Shin-Kong plundered the city of Yangchow in the first year of Shang-Yuan, during the reign of Su-Chung (760) and put the inhabitants to the sword, among those perished were several thousands of Arab and Persian merchants."<sup>1</sup> This shows that Muslims were found in great numbers in this commercial port of China in the 8th century.

Besides the above mentioned settlements, Chang-an (Sian) the capital of the Tang dynasty, had a big Muslim colony. According to Chinese history, in the year 755-757 when An Lu-Shan revolted against the House of Tang, Emperor Su-Chung who succeeded his father in 756 sent his Envoy to ask the Arab Wallis in Central Asia to come to his help. They sent 4000 Arab, Persian and Turk soldiers to Chang-an and after having suppressed the revolt in 757 they were allowed to remain in Chang-an and to settle there.<sup>2</sup> These Muslim soldiers married Chinese wives and afterward formed the nucleus of the Muslim population of Northwest China.

In this city is a very ancient mosque built at the same time as that in Canton. The Record of Chang-an Hsien speaks of its foundation during the short lived reign of the Emperor Tsung Chung (684)<sup>3</sup> but the Chinese inscription, the oldest one ever found in the mosque dealing with the early history of Islam in China, gives the date of its foundation in the first

1. Pei Shao-Yi. op. cit. p. 133.

2. E.V. Breitschneider, Ancient Chinese Knowledge of the Arabs: (London, 1929), p. 9.

3. Fu Thong-Hsien: op. cit. p. 44.



year of Tien-Pao (742). Even this date was much disputed by Western scholars including Marshall Broomhall.<sup>1</sup> One cannot, however, deny the existence of a Muslim colony in this ancient capital in the 8th century, but, because it was not a seaport, their activities and religious life in the Sung period became less known.

#### Muslim Commercial Activities in the Seaports

During the Sung Dynasty (960-1277), Muslim merchants, mainly Arabs and Persians, in China carried on an enormous volume of trade between the Chinese ports and Persian Gulf, by which they made untold wealth. The most renowned Arab merchant in China during the Sung period were Abu Ali, Ibrahim whom Yakout has mentioned in his book (Mo'jam ul-Bultan)<sup>2</sup> and Abu Sukain,<sup>3</sup> who was so named probably because he had been the Headman of two Muslim markets, one in 'Kanfu,' and the other in Chuan-chow. He was later on, made 'Zi-pai-Shih' ( ) or Director-General of Marketing and Shipping Department which included the function of control of Custom House at Chuan-Chow.

The trade carried on by the Arab and Persian merchants chiefly consisted in spices (80 varieties), medical herbs and plants (37 varieties), Arabic and Persian gums, frankincense, camphor, cat's eyes, pearls, tusks, precious stones, embroideries

1. M. Broomhall, Islam in China, (London 1910), pp. 83-90. In these pages Broomhall discussed exhaustively the origin of this ancient Chinese Muslim inscription.

2. See, "China" in Yakout's Dictionary of Countries.

3. Abu-Sukain in Arabic means: Master of two markets. The Arab and Persian Muslim Residential Quarters in Canton and Chuanchow sometimes called "Foreign Bazaars." Supra: p. 4.



etc. Professor Pei Shao-yi gave a long list of commodities which had been imported to China by the Arab and Persian merchants and sold in Chinese markets in the seaports.<sup>1</sup>

Chau Yu-kua in his Chu Fan-Chi written in the 13th century mentioned 33 kinds of commodities carried into China by Arab and Muslim merchants from the Red sea and the Persian Gulf ports, including Alexandria, Basra, Baghdad and Zanzibar. The most popular of them were Camphor, Frankincense, liquid storax, rose-water, cloves, sandle-wood and myrrh.<sup>2</sup>

These Arab and Persian exchanges with China produced far-reaching results in China. First they brought into existence of a Custom Administration, first introduced in 'Kanfu,' (Canton), then in Chuan-chow, Yangchow and other ports of China, for the purpose of controlling the sea-trades between China and Arabia. Thus a system called 'Zi-pai-shih' (市舶使) meaning Directorate of Marketing and Shipping, was created. Its function was to inspect incoming and outgoing ships, collection of custom duties levied in kind from 10 percent to 25 according to different categories of articles. This office was usually entrusted to a Muslim who know the secret of the sea-trade and had intimate connections with the Arab and Persian merchants. The best known Director of this Administration was Abu-Sukain, about whom Chau Yu-Kua spoke with great respect. The Japanese scholar, Jitsozo Kuwabara made a special research on this high Muslim official who held the post of the 'Zi-pai-shih' in the

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1. Pei Shao-Yi, op. cit., pp. 166-178.

2. Chan Yu Kua's Chn Jan-Chi was translated into English by F. Hirth and W.W. Rockhill, with an Introduction on Arab Trade in China in the 13th century.



later years of the Sung Dynasty, resulting in a scholarly work under the title "Abu-Suakin" in 1929.<sup>1</sup>

The second obvious result was the increase of Customs Revenue to the Imperial Treasury. According to Sung-Shih (宋史 Vol. 268) Tai-Chung (976-997) permitted to establish an Exchange Office for the purpose of selling articles collected as Customs duties from Muslim merchants to the Public. In the first year of the experiment, they realized 30,000 strings of cash.<sup>2</sup> Next year the amount increased to 50,000 strings. Nine years later, to 100,000 strings. In 1162 this item reached 2,000,000 strings while the total State revenue about the same period was about 62,300,000 strings.<sup>3</sup>

The third result was the introduction of certain Arab and Persian vegetable essences and herbs into Chinese medicine. This included (a) 8 kinds of frankincense pills, 3 kinds of frankincense powder and one gum tablet; (b) 5 kinds of Sandle Pills, and one Sandle syrup; (c) 5 kinds of Myrrh pills, 2 kinds of myrrh powder and (d) two kinds of Benzoin-essence-pills and one kind of cardamon pill.

The Taiping Charitable Pharmacy of the Sung Dynasty used the medical herbs and plants brought by the Arab and other merchants to China in preparing different prescriptions

1. This book was translated into Chinese by Mr. Chen Yu-Chien.

2. Before the Chinese Republic and even in the early years of the Republic, China's currency was a kind of copper cash with a hole in the middle, which can be strung together. One string was usually made of one thousand cash.

3. Pei Shao Yi: op. cit., pp. 131-134.



for different treatments. A detailed description about the employment of Arab and Persian medical herbs, vegetable essences and plants in Chinese medicine was given by Professor Pei in his book: A Collection of Materials On Muslim History in China (pp. 190-194).



(ii) Muslims in the Yuan Dynasty (1277-1367)

In the first section of this chapter I have stated briefly the introduction of Islam into China, the Muslim settlements and their flourishing conditions in the Chinese ports where they make their residence for carrying on trade and business between China and the Persian Gulf. They became very rich and began to wield certain influence in the Chinese affairs, especially in the Maritime Customs Administration in the ports stretching from Canton to Hangchow.

With the conquest of the Mongols and the establishment of the Yuan Dynasty in 1277 in China, Muslim influence began to grow and new elements of the Arab and Persian people were added to those already in China, thus making the position of the Muslims during this period very significant. There were several factors which assisted this rapid growth of Muslim influence in the Yuan Dynasty.

The most important is that many Muslims of Arab and Persian origin who had made Central Asia and Turkistan their homes during the past centuries had been enrolled as officers and soldiers in the Mongol army under Chengiz Khan and his successors, fighting the Kitan princes and the Sung rulers in North China. These officers later on became good administrators in different Governmental departments in the Centre as well as in Provinces of the Chinese Mongol Empire which was officially established in 1277 with the proclamation of Kublai Khan as the



Emperor of China under the title of Sze-Chu.<sup>1</sup> As an illustration we mention here the name of Sayyid Edjell Shamsuddin Omar.

According to Yuan-Shih (元史 Vol. 125) Sayyid Edjell was a Muslim and descendant of the Prophet and a native of Bukhara. He first served Tai-Chung (1229-1250) that is Ogtai Khan, and distinguished himself as a military officer and was made first the Darougha Khaja, or Military Governor of Taiyuan and Pingyang. Later on, he was transferred as an Imperial Judge in Yenching (Peking), then Governor of Yenching. When the Mongol army was sent to subdue the distant Szechwan he was appointed as the Supply Commander and served with great distinction.

When Kublai Khan proclaimed himself Emperor of China (1271-1294) and made Peking his capital Sayyid Edjell was appointed one of the political administrators in the Imperial Secretariat and in 1272 he was appointed Governor of Szechwan. In 1274 he became Governor-General of Yunnan, where the people, the Yuan-shih (History of Mongols) stated, were barbarians, who did not know etiquette, social manners or moral code. "Their men and women mixed freely and burned their dead. . . . They knew nothing about reading and writing." Sayyid Edjell introduced social customs, taught them etiquette, regulated their marriage by introducing a 'go-between,' gave instruction on the use of coffins for burying the dead. Moreover, he

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1. Kublai Khan had already proclaimed the establishment of the Mongol Empire in China in 1271, but the Chinese official history does not count the beginning of the Yuan Dynasty from that year, but from 1277 in which the last Sung Emperor Kung-ti deposed.



developed irrigation systems<sup>1</sup> and taught the people the technique of agriculture. He built Confucian temples, opened schools, and encouraged the cultivation of moral conduct. In a word, he civilized the people and reformed the society of Yunnan."

He governed Yunnan for six years and died at the age of 69 and was deeply mourned by the people. He left five sons: Nasiruddin, Hasan (who occupied the post of Inspector-General in Kwangtung), Hussain, Shamsuddin Omar (chief of Police in Fukien province) and Mas'ud, political officer in the provincial council of Yunnan.

Beside Sayyid Edjell and his sons who occupied high posts in the Mongol Empire, there was a number of other Muslims who held key posts in the Imperial administration. Below is a list of posts which were occupied by Muslims.

1. In the six Ministries: The Civil Administration, the Finance and Population, the Education, the War, the Judiciary and the Industry and Commerce, each had one to six departmental directors, according to the necessity of the ministry concerned. There was generally one Chief Secretary post occupied by a Muslim in every department of any Ministry.

2. In the Military service there was one Darougha Khaja, or a high rank Commander of 10,000 navy; one Commander of 10,000 army; one Deputy Commander of 10,000 and one Army adviser, one Prosecutor of Military criminal cases and one Inspector-

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1. The French Orientalist, A Vissiere wrote a special chapter in his book *Etudes Sino-Manometanes*, about Sayyid Edjell's Irrigation Work in Yunnan (Vol. Chapter iv).



General.

3. In the Grand Secretariat there were 14 Director-Generals, 14 Section-Chiefs; 9 in the Right Wing and 5 in the Left of the Secretariat.

4. In the Inspectorate-General of the 'Two Kiangs,' that is Kiangsi and Che-kiang, there were two Muslim Inspector-Generals; another Muslim Inspector-General in Shensi Province.

5. In the Police Headquarters of 'Tatu' (the Great Capital), there was one Muslim Director and in the Police Headquarters of 'Shangtu' (the Upper-Capital) three Muslim Directors.<sup>1</sup>

According to the official lists of the Yuan Dynasty the following Muslims served on very distinguished posts in the Yuan Dynasty:

Names:	Post	Functions
1. Hasan	Yu-Chen	Chief Assistant to the Prime Minister
2. Daulat Shah	Tso-Chen	Second Chief Assistant to Prime Minister
3. Badruddin	" "	Do
4. Zahiruddin	" "	"
5. Sayyid Edjell	Pingchang	Political Administrator
6. Saifuddin	"	" "
7. Ahmed	"	" "
8. Ali	"	" "
9. Majduddin	"	" "
10. Bayan	"	" "
11. Alauddin	"	" "
12. Fakhruddin	"	" "

1. Pei Shao-Yi, op. cit., pp. 202-203.



Names:	Posts	Functions
13. Ubaidullah	Pingchang	Political Administrator
14. Bayan Chahar	"	" "
15. Chil Timour	"	" "
16. Kutbuddin	---	Deputy Secretary
17. Shamsuddin	---	State Counsellor

According to the list prepared by Professor Wu Ting-shieh, the number of high Muslim officials in the Mongol Empire was near to 30. He also gave reference to the jurisdictions which every officer had during his term of office; these included Kansu, Yunnan, Szechwan, Shensi, Chekiang, Honan, Kiangsi, Liaoyang, Honan.<sup>1</sup> These have been the places where Muslims have considerable numerical strength even today.

According to the Persian Mongol Historian, Rashiduddin Fadllah (died in 1313), author of *Jami' al-Tavarikh*, the Mongol Empire under Kublai Khan was divided into 12 provinces<sup>2</sup> and in eight of these provinces were Muslim Governors, and in most cases assisted by Muslim Deputy Governors. They were:

1. The second Province, the capital of which was Chwuan-chow (川州) in the Taininglou (大寧路) the present Liao-Yang in Manchuria, had Alauddin Pingchang, son of Hlsamuddin Al-Malighi as the Governor and Hasan Tso-Chen as the Deputy Governor.<sup>3</sup>

2. The Sixth Province, the capital of which was Kinsai, (Hangchow) in Chekiang had Alauddin Ping-chang, son of

1. Pei Shao-Yi. op. cit., pp. 210-219.

2. *Jami' al-Tavarikh*, Ed. Blochet, Vol. II, p. 484.

3. Ibid., p. 486.



Saifuddin, as the Governor and Omar Pingchang as the Deputy Governor, assisted by another Muslim high official called Khoja Tousi Pingchang.<sup>1</sup>

3. In the Seventh Province Fu-chow (in the present province Fukien) the Governor was first a brother of Dashman and now, Amir Omar, the brother of Bayan Pingchang. Chuan-chow was the port which was under the control of Bahauddin Kanduzi.<sup>2</sup>

4. The 8th Province, which was connected with Tangut, had Hasan, brother of Bayan Pingchang, as its Governor assisted by the brother of Lachin, who had the same name of the Governor Hasan.<sup>3</sup>

5. In the 9th Province, which the Arabs called 'Chin-Kalan' (Great China) the Governor was Ruknuddin al-Tastari Pingchang.<sup>4</sup>

6. The 10th Province was Karachang, (Present Yunnan). The inhabitants of Yueh-Si (越斯) one of its big cities were all Muslims. Yaghan Tekin and Yakoub Beg, son of Ali Beg of the family of Yalvaj were Governors there.<sup>5</sup>

7. The 11th Province was Tangut (Shensi), Amir Anand had been there and now the Governor was Kaitmish, brother of Dashman Pingchang, assisted by Omar Khital and Yourt Anand.<sup>6</sup>

8. The 12th Province Kanchow (Kansu), a part of Tangut, the Governor of which was Amir Khoju.<sup>7</sup>

1. Ibid., p. 489.

2. Ibid., p. 491.

3. Ibid., p. 493.

4. Ibid., p. 494.

5. Ibid., p. 495.

6. Ibid., p. 496.

7. Ibid., p. 497.



From the statements of Rashiduddin Fadllah we know that there were many 'Hasans,' and several 'Alauddins,' but he did not mention Sayyid Edjell as Governor on Yunnan, though he mentioned him in some other connection. The reason is that he mentioned only those Governors who were still alive at the time of his writing, while Sayyid Edjell died long before.

The Yuan Dynasty ruled China for less than one hundred years, and in this brief period the rapid growth of the Muslim influence in China is clearly seen from the high official posts which Muslims occupied in the entire administration of the Chinese Mongol Empire. Yet this was only one aspect of their influence, namely the political aspect. And apart from this, they gained influence in other fields too, for example in the expert knowledge of astronomy and astrology, in medicine, in technology of artillery, in building and in religious affairs.

During the Mongol rule the Astronomical Department, the Hospital Department, the Artillery Department were under the direction of Muslim experts. The Mongol Imperial Palace in Peking and the Pei-hai Park were built by a Muslim engineer called Ikhtiyar.<sup>1</sup>

In the Astronomical Department the Director-General was a Muslim named Jamaluddin under whom were three Muslim superintendents, two deputy superintendents, two assistants, one technical expert, two secretaries, one training instructor, one director of astrological Section, one Director of the Calendar Section, one Director of the Water-watch Section (漏刻) and

1. Pei Shao-Yi. op. cit., pp. 236-237.



18 officers for checking the movements of the sun and moon and recording the timing of night and day.<sup>1</sup>

In the Hospital Department which they called 'Kwang Hui sze' (廣惠司) or 'the Department for giving Free and Charitable Treatment,' established for the purpose of giving treatment without any compensation, to soldiers and poor people, there were two Muslim Directors. One was responsible for the management of treatment, namely the administration of the Hospital, arranging facilities for hospitalization; the other was responsible for preparing medicine to be used in treatments. They were assisted by four deputies, two assistant deputies, two administrative officers, one technical adviser and one nursery adviser.<sup>2</sup>

Besides the Charitable Treatment Department the Yuan Dynasty established two Muslim Medical Colleges: one in Tatu (Great Capital), namely Peking, and the other in Shangtu, (Upper Capital), namely Kaiping (now in Chahar), for the purpose of studying Muslim medicine.<sup>3</sup>

The Directorate of Artillery or Gunners was established in the 11th year of Chi-Yuan (1274) and later on changed in 1285 into Artillery Command, an artillery training center, under the direction of a Darougha Khaja, assisted by one ten-thousand-Gunners Commander and one Deputy Commander of the same rank, and a group of experts, advisers and administrative

1. Ibid., p. 203.

2. Ibid., p. 203.

3. Ibid.



officers, one interpreter and two inspectors.<sup>1</sup>

From these records and the high positions occupied by Muslims in the Mongol Empire, one can easily understand how the Muslims in China got their influence and how they spread in different parts of the Empire. It suffices to point out here that the majority of the Muslim population in the past as well as at present were to be found in Northwestern China, in the trading ports on the China coast, around the capitals, namely Nanking, Sian, and Peking, and in Yunnan and other provinces where Muslim Governors ruled during the Yuan Dynasty.

1. Pei Shao-Yi. op. cit., p. 204.



(iii) Muslim Position During the  
Ming Dynasty (1368-1642)

From the foregoing pages one can easily arrive at these conclusions:

(1) During the Tang period most of the Arab and Persian Muslims who came to China for trade made their determination to stay in China and to organize their social and religious life by themselves. Thus they began to form settlements in the ports and cities where they first arrived and found good prospects for doing business.

(2) During the Sung period (920-1276) they distinguished themselves in trade and made their influence indirectly felt in the administration, particularly in the Customs administration and in shipping control in the ports of the China coast.

(3) During the Yuan Dynasty (1277-1368) they gained great political influence through positions they held in different departments, in the Center as well as in the Provinces. Thus their dominant position in the Imperial administration was much feared and envied by certain groups of Chinese officials, though they did not show open hatred to them, yet it was understandable that they nurtured a kind of feeling unfriendly to the Muslims whom they looked upon as foreigners who came and settled in China as traders or as officials in the Mongol army. With different religious beliefs and practices living in as big a country as China, whose people have a different kind of view toward life, the daily life and customs of the Muslims which



seemed to have a foreign origin, sometimes were mocked and talked about by neighbors.<sup>1</sup> This shows that the Chinese society did not look toward the Muslims or their religion with much respect, a psychological warning that Muslims in China, if they would wish to stay on, had to make certain adjustments in their life, and to adopt certain ways to come closer to the Chinese society in which or with which they had to live.

#### Adoption of Chinese Family names:

It was primarily for this reason that, with the change of dynasty from Yuan to Ming in 1368, there was a significant change among the Muslims with regard to their psychological approach in making themselves appearing more Chinese-like and more identical with the Chinese way of life and culture.

It was evident that Muslims - Arabs and Persians - in China before the Ming Dynasty had special residential quarters; they spoke their own tongue and kept their own Muslim names in official capacities as well as in private transactions. They did not perhaps even wear Chinese dress or mingle with the Chinese society. But with the establishment of the Ming dynasty, which was a 'pure Chinese' dynasty, the Muslims who, up to that time, had been Arab and Persian immigrants or their descendants and whose number had been steadily increasing, multiplying, spreading to and flourishing in almost all the big cities in the Northwest, Central, South China and the Yangtze Valley, felt it expedient and necessary to change their way of living, identifying themselves more closely with the Chinese

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1. Pei Shao-Yi. op. cit., p. 251.



society and culture, for political and social reasons. Thus, they began to adopt Chinese family names such as 'Ma,' from 'Mahmud'; 'Ha,' from 'Hasan,' 'Na,' from 'Nasiruddin' and 'Pei,' from 'Badruddin' and so on.

Secondly, they encouraged the establishment of close marriage relationships with Chinese families such as the popular families of 'Wang,' 'Chang,' 'Tsai,' 'Li' and so on, by which they gained many new converts into Islam, and consequently Chinese dress and other customs had freely been adopted. They began to pay more attention to study the Chinese language and to understand the Chinese culture. Thus, in the course of time, their habits and manners and social customs were significantly 'sininized,' in appearance and in outlook.

In spite of this great change, they retained, however, persistently two distinctions; holding steadfast their Islamic belief and observing vigorously the restriction against using pork as an article of food in their daily life. It was due to this change that Muslims in China (China proper) today do not differ from non-Muslims in living habits and social manners, with the exception of religious belief and prohibiting the use of pork and alcohol. In all other things they became perfectly Chinese, despite the fact that some of them, specially those in North China, still bear features which remind them of a remote foreign descent.

#### High Muslim Personalities in the Ming Dynasty:

As the Muslims had had a firm foundation on the soil of China since the Sung through the Yuan period, they had been able to maintain, even in the Ming dynasty, a fairly high position



throughout the Empire. Their relations with the Imperial Court were mutual beneficial and with the Chinese very cordial and friendly. No incident of friction was ever recorded in the official history of this dynasty. This was partially due to the good name they had earned in the Sung and Yuan dynasties, and partially due to their change of attitude towards the Chinese way of living and their identification with the Chinese society and culture. A third reason was the presence of still many high officials and distinguished personalities in the Ming Court and the Imperial administration. The presence of a number of Muslim scholars added strength to the Muslim community in the country. A fourth reason was in the good relations established between the Ming Dynasty and the Muslim countries in Central Asia (with the Timouride Dynasty in Samarkand and Shah Rukh of Herat) and along the Indian coast up to the Persian Gulf.

Among the numerous Muslim high officials in the Ming Dynasty I must mention the names of General Chang Yu-chung (常遇春) and Hajj Chenho (鄭和), two pillars of strength to the Ming dynasty; the first to Tai-Chu, and the second to Chen-Chu, two great Ming Emperors.<sup>1</sup>

General Chang Yu-chung was with Chu Yuan-chang, the founder of the Ming Dynasty, since the beginning of his rising in the Hui River region, against the declining Mongol rule. After capturing the city of Taiping (太平) he was promoted to a vanguard officer and was ordered to rescue Marshall Hsuta

1. Fu Thong-hsien. op. cit., pp. 97-102.



(陳達) who was besieged at Newtown by enemy forces. Newtown was relieved and the Marshall recommended his promotion to a general rank. At the time Chu Yuan-chang assumed the title of Wu-Wang (1364) Chang Yu-chung was promoted to the rank of Ping-chang or political administrator and was entrusted with important military operations. He was then appointed as Deputy Commander to assist Marshall Hsuta in his Northern Expedition.<sup>1</sup> They first captured the province north of the Yellow River, then Taiyuan, the provincial capital of Shensi. Afterward, he was ordered to pursue the last Yuan Emperor Tokho-Timour who still held his stronghold in Kaiping which fell to his hands in 1369 together with 10,000 Mongol officers and soldiers. With the capture of this city the Ming dynasty which was established in 1368 was firmly secured. But General Chang Yu-chung did not live long to receive his master's favor. He died at Liu Ho-Chow of high blood pressure at the age of 40. His death caused deep grief to the founder of the Ming Dynasty, who secured his throne chiefly due to the integrity and loyalty of this Muslim General. As a remark of respect Tai-Chu personally conducted the funeral arrangement for this distinguished General who was buried at Lung-Kiang.<sup>2</sup>

Hajj Chenho, the Greatest Chinese Navigator:

The second distinguished Muslim personality in the Ming Dynasty was no doubt Hajj Chenho, generally known in the Chinese history by the name 'San-pao-tai-kien' (三保太監), the Grand

1. Ibid., p. 101.

2. Ibid., pp. 101-102.



Enuch of the Ming Dynasty who served Cheng Chu and his successor with distinction and made the name of China known to, and respected by, all the countries beyond the South Sea as far as Arabia and East Africa.<sup>1</sup>

Hajj Chengho was a native of Yunnan, grandson of Bayan who had been once Governor-General of that province in the Mongol days. He was regarded as the greatest navigator China ever had produced in her history - a very able and wise man and made China's political influence felt where ever he went and landed. He made seven voyages to promote Chinese relations with most countries stretching from Java to East Africa, including the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Ceylon, the Malabar coast, Hormuz, Dhafar, Aden, Mecca and some ports of East Africa.

His first voyage was made in the 3rd year of Yung-lo (1405) by order of Cheng Chu, who selected him for this important mission, because his grandfather and father had made pilgrimages to Mecca and knew almost all the countries in the South Sea, in the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf, and were acquainted with the customs and the languages of the people and countries. Another reason was that he himself was a highly qualified official who had many qualified subordinates and sincere friends around him, who knew well the conditions and customs of the countries beyond the South Sea.<sup>2</sup>

In his first voyage he took with him 27,000 men and a big fleet consisting of 62 ocean going ships. The size of each of them was 440 feet long and 180 feet wide. During this

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1. Ibid., pp. 96-97.

2. Ibid., pp. 97-98.



voyage which took more than two years he visited all the Javanese islands and Malaya Archipelago, and showed the natives of these countries the mighty power of the Ming Dynasty and brought back presents to the Emperor, in September 1407.<sup>1</sup> In his second voyage he visited Ceylon and the Indian coast. In his fifth, the East Africa ports and in his last, Hormuz, Aden and Mecca.<sup>2</sup>

Beside these two outstanding Muslim personalities in the Ming Court, there were a number of distinguished scholars, especially in the science of astronomy which had been flourishing in Peking since Kublai Khan's time.

The first Ming ruler Tai-Chu, like Kublai Khan was a great admirer of science and learning, and astronomy was considered indispensable for the ruling family for different reasons, including weather forecasts, fixing the calendar of the year, calculating the change of seasons, which had a direct effect on agricultural seeding and planting and above all, the detecting of the 'heavenly signs' which were supposed, according to the astrologers' interpretation, to give warning against the advent of natural calamities or to foretell a good and happy year.

For these reasons the Ming Emperors continued the policy of the Yuan rulers in the patronage of the science of astronomy within the Empire. They maintained the Astronomy Directorate and appointed Muslims as its Directors. Muslim scholars such as Kheder and Abdullah, who had been served in the same Department under the Yuan dynasty, were re-appointed

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid., pp. 96-100.



to their posts.

In 1370 this Department was divided into four sections: (1) Astrology; (2) Water-Watch; (3) Universal Calendar and (4) Muslim Calendar. A Muslim chief was appointed to each section. In 1382, well-known scholars like Li Chung and Wu Peh-chung and the Grand Muslim Sheikh and some others were ordered by an Imperial decree to translate 'Muslim' books on astronomy and other sciences. They were in more than 100 volumes found in the Mongol Capital (Peking) when captured by the Ming forces.<sup>1</sup>

Tai-Chu, the first Ming Emperor, had great respect for the religion of Islam for many reasons, some of which I have mentioned on page 24 and in order to express his appreciation, he himself wrote a One-Hundred Word Decree in praising Islam, which had been engraved in the stone tablet in the Grand Mosque built in 1467, by order of the Emperor at the recommendation of General Chang Yu-chung.<sup>2</sup>

#### Chinese Muslim Art:

It was because of this favorable atmosphere that a special kind of art had been developed in China during the Ming period. This art, which may be called Chinese Muslim Art, found its expressions in many ways:

1. In Chinese Porcelain and Celadon. The Mohammedan Blue which was a dominating feature in Chinese Celadon and Porcelain was the development of this period. This Mohammedan

1. Ibid., pp. 93-94.

2. Father Pickens made a visit to this mosque while he was in China and found the tablet still in good condition. See Friends of Moslems Vol. X, No. I, pp. 8-9.



Blue, later on was copied by the Persians in the 17th century during the reign of the Shah Abbas the Great. A very big collection of this kind of Chinese Porcelain and celadon has been preserved in the Museum of Antiquity in Teheran, Iran.

2. In Chinese Bronze: Professor Berthold Laufer, the author of Sino-Iranica has contributed a valuable article in *Ars Islamica*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 133, on the subject of the Chinese Mohammedan Bronze, in which he described how he obtained his collection from Sianfu in 1901-1904 and again in 1908-1910, and what were the special characteristics he found in those pieces which came into his possession, now exhibited in the Newberry Library, Chicago, together with other items of great interest relating to Islamic influence in China. His collection includes scent-burners, plates, and flowers vases, which were the production of the Imperial foundry of Peking in the years 1430 and 1431 of the Ming Dynasty, and had Muslim tenets on them in beautiful Arabic, which eloquently speaks of the Islamic influence.

3. In Decorations: Particularly in what the Chinese called 'Letter-Picture (字畫)'. This was developed in two ways. One was to write a Chinese character with Arabic sentences or phrases in very small strokes by which a Chinese letter is formed. The other way was to write Arabic words like Chinese, for the purpose of wall decoration in a Muslim gentry's house. Examples of this kind of art may be found in "Resherches sur les Musulmans Chinois," by Mission d'Ollone 1906-1909, pp. 228-229.



## II. MUSLIM MINORITY IN THE CHING DYNASTY (1644-1911)

### A. Manchu Officials' Ignorance of the Muslim Religion and its Effects on Their Policies

In the beginning of this period the Muslims in the whole Manchu Empire might be divided into two main divisions:

(1) Those in China Proper and (2) those in Sinkiang. I am going to deal first with the conditions of the Muslims in China Proper, then to look into those in Sinkiang.

#### (1) The Muslims in China Proper:

These Muslims were descendants of Arabs and Persians or of Chinese converts. They spread widely in nearly all big cities with difference of degree in numbers only, on the coastal provinces and in the Northwest and Southwest and North of China. Their manners and customs, as already mentioned were, 'sininized.' They could hardly be distinguished from Chinese in appearance and speech. They wore nearly the same dress, took the same kind of food with the exception of pork, and spoke the same language, with variation of local accents, and mixed with their Chinese neighbors with great freedom.

They, however, maintained a different belief, and because of this belief, they had certain peculiarities in their social practices and religious rituals. They maintained a better health habit (For instance, they wash five times a day, take bath and change dress at least once a week, even in cold north China), forbade the use of pork and alcohol, were



accustomed to ablution and resisted the temptation of food not prepared according to their own way. Their marriage ceremony and funeral rites were conducted according to the rules prescribed by their religion. The Hijrah Calendar, though abolished officially, was still in use by the Muslims for religious purposes in the Ching Dynasty. Thus at the arrival of Ramadan, the 9th month of the Muslim Calendar, Muslims began to observe fast, and did not touch food and drink between sunrise and sunset; instead, they made marry at night and gathered in mosques after breaking fast, saying their prayers, reading their Holy Book, the Quran, in Arabic and listening to the sermons of their religious leaders. On Bairam Festival they sacrificed animals, usually cows and sheep, and had their meat distributed to the poor and needy members of the community. Moreover they devoted their attention to learning Arabic and Persian for religious practices, and confined their religious tenets strictly to their adherents, discouraging non-Muslims to attend their religious gatherings in the mosques.

(ii) The Ignorance of the Manchu Officials:

All these religious customs and practices, which had nothing wrong in themselves, aroused suspicion among many of the high officials of the Ching Dynasty.

The Manchus were an alien race in the eyes of the Chinese. They lacked that high cultural standard and religious understanding which was a peculiar merit of the Ming Emperors, who appreciated the Muslim religion and issued decrees in praising it, but the Manchus were of a different kind of mentality. They recognized only ancestor-worship or a religion



close to ancestor-worship.

It was mainly this ignorance, aided by other causes, including what might be called political, economic, social and religious, that led to many armed clashes between officials and Muslims in both China Proper and Sinkiang, in which the Muslims were always the losers.

Moreover, Chinese officials who served in high posts in the Manchu Dynasty took advantage of their positions, and made mischievous reports about the Muslims to the Manchu Throne, based on ill-feeling toward Muslims in general, with particular intention to preventing talented Muslims from gaining high positions again, as they did during the Yuan and Ming Dynasties. Some examples of this kind of mischievous and trouble-fanning reports are cited below:

a. In the second year of Yung Ching (1724) Mr. Chen Shih Kwang, Inspector General of Shantung, sent a report to the Throne, containing:

Crooked practices which disturb the belief of the people should be strictly prohibited by law. Among this category are the practices of the 'Hui-Hui,'<sup>1</sup> who do not worship 'Heaven and Earth'; who refuse to make offering to Spirits; who have established separate religious sect and use a different Calendar. Their party Members become numerous and with constant increase of members, they propagate evil practices in order to corrupt people. . .

It is on this ground that I venture to request an Imperial decree to be issued to the effect that Muslims be 'de-Musulmanized' and their mosques to be destroyed.

b. Another example: In the fifth moon of the 8th year of Yung Ching (1730) Mr. Lu Kuo-Hwa, Chief of Police of Anhui Province, reported to the Throne:

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1. Muslims in China are called 'Hui-Hui.'



Muslims residing in the interior have established themselves everywhere and carry on proper professions and business without any difference with other people. Naturally they should follow the observance of the Calendar of the Ruling Dynasty in their daily life. But they do not follow the system of our 'big' and 'small' months, neither the regulations of leap-year. They use their own Calendar and have their own New Year's Day on which occasion they observe special celebrations and reciprocate congratulations.

Again they use to wear 'white caps'<sup>1</sup> in mornings and evenings when they gather in their own worshipping places which they call 'Ching Tsing-Tze'. Nobody knows what 'Spirit' they worship. They also institute 'fasting practices.'

In view of their being the subjects of the Universal-Wise Emperor, they should observe the unified and right rule and wear the dress prescribed in the Empire. They should not be allowed to keep records according to their own arrangements of days and months, or to use white caps, or institute strange practices against the uniformity in the country.

It is on these grounds that I humbly request Your Majesty to issue a decree ordering them to be in conformity with the right rule in keeping records and in uniformity in dress. Their mosques should be put under prohibition and they themselves should be punished according to law which governs 'suspicious and evil practices,' if they refuse to obey; and the local gentries who show sympathy or to extend protection to them by hiding them in their houses, should also be persecuted in accordance with law.<sup>2</sup>

There were many other such cases which showed a hostile attitude adopted by the Manchu officials toward Muslims in the country. They persistently requested the Emperor to issue orders to 'de-Musulmanize' the Muslims and to have their mosques closed or destroyed.<sup>3</sup>

Fortunately, the Emperor Chi'en Lung was an enlightened Monarch who studied deeply in the Chinese culture which enabled

1. Muslims wear 'white caps' in prayer.

2. Fu Thong-hsien. op. cit., p. 118.

3. Ibid., p. 120.



him to form a mind of justice and tolerance toward religious matters, and he did not, however, take action on those recommendations or requests poured into his ears from many provincial Governors. He simply marked: "That Muslims had been in China since centuries, spread everywhere. You cannot kill them all. They are not guilty because of their religious belief and practices. They are the subjects of the Empire. They should not be punished unless they break the law and become disloyal."<sup>4</sup>

Muslims in China Proper were saved by the enlightenment and tolerance of this Monarch.

(iii) Political and other factors:

Ignorance of the officials was not the only cause that made them suspect the conduct of the Moslms in the country. There were other factors too, among which the political factor was very important and had a direct bearing on the attitudes of the Manchu officials. It began with the story of two Muslim Generals who supported the last Ming Prince Yan-Chang Wang (延長王) to recover the lost throne from the Manchus. They were General Ting Kuo-tung and General Mirayin who raised the standard of revolt in Kansu in the 5th year of Hsun-Chi (1648) and occupied the city of Kung Chang. The newly established Manchu Dynasty was alarmed and immediately sent Marshal Mong Chiao-fang to crush them. At the battle of Lanchow both General Mirayin and the Ming Prince Yan-Chang Wang were killed, but General Ting escaped to Kanchow. In 1649 he made an alliance with Prince Turtai son of Babur Khan, who was the Ruler

1. Ibid., p. 122.



of Hami. His army entered Kia Ku-Kwang and attacked Suchow and General Ting joined him. But at the end they were defeated by the Manchu army and killed too. Along with them some 5,000 Muslims were massacred by the victorious army of the Manchu Emperor.<sup>1</sup>

In view of this fact, the Manchu officials did not trust Muslims very much. That is why they recommended oppressive measures to be taken against them.

Along with this political factor there was a religious factor which contributed to the increase of suspicion of the loyalty of the Muslims in the Empire. This factor was in fact a combination of elements relating to religious movements or activities in the name of religion in the Ching Dynasty, especially during the period of Chi'en Lung and Chia-Ching (1736-1819).

During these years there had been a 'Pai Lien-Chiao' or the 'White-Lotus' Religious Movement - a movement activated by agents working in Chinese secret societies, who used the name of the 'White-Lotus' Sect, a corrupted branch of Chinese Buddhism, as camouflage by which they intended to regain political influence for the right Chinese authority. This movement spread widely and in the course of time caused much disturbance and unrest in nearly the whole country. The provinces of Hunan, Hupeh, Szechwan, Yunnan, Kweichow, Kwangsi, and later on, Kansu and Shensi were affected.<sup>2</sup>

1. Fu Thong-Hsien. op. cit., p. 123.

2. Hsiao Yi-Shan. General History of the Ching Dynasty (Shanghai, 1927), Vol. II, pp. 273-302.



In connection with the 'White Lotus' Religious Movement, there was a Sectarian movement called 'Tien Li-Chiao', the 'Religion of Heavenly Reason,' an off shot of the 'White-Lotus' Religious Movement, which gained ground during the early years of Chia-Ching and spread to Chili, Honan, Shantung, Shansi and Shensi. At the end they were ruthlessly suppressed by the Manchu military forces.<sup>1</sup>

It was against this complicated background that the Ching Dynasty as a whole, was an anti-Muslim Dynasty; oppressive policies had constantly been carried on against them in nearly all parts of China, especially in Kashgaria, (Hui-Kiang), in Northwest China and in Yunnan. In following section I am going to give some descriptions of these Muslim revolts during the Ching Dynasty under separate headings.

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1. Ibid., pp. 320-326.



### B. Muslim Revolts

#### (1) The Khojas Revolt in South Chinese Turkistan (1758)

##### 1. Conditions in North and South Sinkiang at the time of the Khojas' Revolt.

During the early years of the Manchu Emperor Ch'ien Lung's reign (1736-1794) Eastern Turkistan, a territory of about 500,000 square miles with a population perhaps less than 3,000,000<sup>1</sup> and with Russia and Afghanistan on the west, Kashmir, India and Tibet on the south, Kansu on the east and Mongolia and Russia on the north, was conquered by China and since it was a newly conquered territory, it was called 'Sinkiang,' meaning the "New Dominion."

This "New Dominion," was geographically divided into two main regions by the Tianshan Range: the north and the south. The north part at the time of the Khojas' revolt was called 'Zungaria,' or Dzungaria, original home of the Tungans, a region in the north of Tianshan, stretching from Urumchi towards the Lake of Balkash, with Kuldja as its political and commercial center, while the south part was called in Chinese 'Huikiang,' or the 'Land of Muslims,' and in western literature, 'Kashgaria,' a denomination given to the semi-independent kingdom established in the past centuries by the descendants of the Mongol Princes in the region of the southwest Tianshan with the city of Kashgar as its capital. This Kingdom at the

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1. W.L. Bales, Tso Tsung-Tang, pp. 296-297.



beginning of the 18th century was overrun by Qortan, a chieftain of the Zungarians, who forced the evacuation of the descendants of the Mongol Princes and their leaders to the Ili Valley in the north and ordered them to live on farms and to look after herds. Heavy taxes were imposed on their possessions and products and restrictions were placed on their religious customs and practices.<sup>1</sup> When Qortan, the Zungarian Chief, lost his power in the 3rd year of Kang Hsi (1696), as a result of the Manchu military conquest and its interference in the Zungarian affairs, Abdul Rashid, one of the Muslim leaders who had been forced to immigrate to Ili, submitted himself to the Manchu authority and requested permission to return to south Tianshan. Thus, he was sent back to Hami and thence to Yarkand. His son Mahmud, resenting the Zungarian rule over his ancestor's kingdom, made an attempt to establish an independent state at Yarkand. He was, however, arrested and sent over to Ili and was kept there under police observation.

This Mahmud had two sons: Burnit, known as the 'Big Khoja,' and Khoji Jan, known as the 'Little Khoja,' whose story will be narrated below.

## 2. The Two Khojas.

These two brothers had been kept by the authority in Zungaria to supervise Muslim cultivators and collect land and produce taxes for the local government. They lived in that kind of life for a long time until they were asked to go to the south to suppress the disturbances started by the

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1. Shiao Yi-Shan. op. cit., p. 84.



"Black-Mountaineers,"<sup>1</sup> who received support from their co-religionists of Central Asia and revolted against the Zungarian garrison in their cities and drove them out.<sup>2</sup>

In the 20th year of Chi'en Lung (1755) whose forces had just accomplished the conquest of Ili, the Manchu Commander Alour Salla decided to make use of the Chieftains of the "White-Mountaineers," for Manchu Imperial political ends. He decided to use the 'Big' and the 'Little' Khoja, Burnit and Khoji Jan, the two "White-Mountaineers'" chiefs now in Ili, to crush the revolt of the Black-Mountaineers in the south of Sinkiang.<sup>3</sup> Burnit, the 'Big Khoja' was therefore provided with a big army and sent to the south, while Khoji Jan, the 'Little Khoja' was placed in command of a Muslim army to be organized in the Ili region under Alour Salla's direction.<sup>4</sup>

The 'Big Khoja' went to the south and encountered the Black-Mountaineers who retreated to the mountains at the advance of the Khoja's army. Thus, most of the south came under his control without much difficulty. Afterwards, his brother, the 'Little Khoja,' came down to the south and met him at Aksu where they had a secret consultation on the question of starting an independence movement. The 'Big Khoja'

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1. The 'Black' and 'White' Mountaineers were two Muslim sects developed in South Sinkiang in the 16th century, the 'Black-Mountaineers' were of Persian origin, while the other was of Arab origin, became two religious rival sects, antagonistic to one another since the 17th century.

2. Shiao Yi-Shan. op. cit., vol. I, p. 35.

3. Ibid., p. 85.

4. Pei Shao-Yi. op. cit., p. 389.



wished to remain loyal to the Manchu Imperial authority and prepared to abide by their instructions. But the Little Khoja Jan argued: "Now Zungaria is no more, and the Manchu position in Ili is still uncertain. It is the time for us to take arms and to free ourselves from the condition of servitude. We should not remain always slaves."<sup>1</sup> The word of the Little brother carried the day. Thus decided, the Little Khoja gathered his men and made a proclamation throughout the south asking the people of all cities stand on alert and to wait for orders. Thousands, it was said, responded,<sup>2</sup> with the exception of the Ruler of Kuchar, who, overwhelmed by the fear of the approach of a Manchu expeditionary army, fled to Ili and reported the matter to the Manchu Governor-General Tao Hui at Kuldja. Tao wished the matter to be settled by peaceful means, but failed. Then his alternative was to plan an armed campaign.

The Khojas were besieged in the city of Kuchar for months. When the food provisions inside the city became a problem, they made a successful escape, leaving the empty city to the Manchus.

The next stronghold they held was Yarkand, where there was violent fighting with the Manchu army and the battle at Karasu ended in the Khojas' victory. General Tao's men made a swift retreat to Aksu, where they made preparations for final dual with the Khojas. This time, the Manchu General marched towards Kashgar with 30,000 horses and camels, divided into two main divisions of 15,000 each. One was put under Tao Hui's

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1. Shiao Yi-shan. *op. cit.*, II, p. 85.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 85 and Pei Shao-yi. *op. cit.*, p. 390.



command and advanced to Kashgar, and the other, under the command of Fu-teh, marched to Yarkand.

This time the Khojas, being economically and financially near collapse, preferred to leave the country without a fight. Thus they, with a few of their family members, crossed the border to Khokand and thence to Badakhshan at the border of Afghanistan.

It was recorded in the history of the Ching dynasty that the Manchu Generals pursued them up to Badakhshan and threatened invasion if the Ruler of that Kingdom refused to hand over the heads of the two Khojas. After showing much reluctance, the Shah of Badakhshan at last gave way and yielded to their demands. Thus his own kingdom was saved.<sup>1</sup> Here ends the Khojas' Revolt.

### 3. Political Arrangement after the Khojas' Revolt.

With the ending of the rebellion led by the Khojas and the completion of subjugation of Kashgaria to the rule of the Manchus, the Manchus were thinking about the question of how to control this part of the "New Dominion" in a most effective way. After long debate and consultation, it was decided by the Manchu Imperial Council at Peking that the new administration in the dominion would be arranged in the following way:

a. Establishment of a High Commissioner's Office at Kashgar with full power to deal with and to control the affairs of all the cities in South Sinkiang; and in every city a political agency and in small towns a police center, to look

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1. Shiao Yi-shan. *op. cit.*, II, p. 89 and Pei Shao-yi. *op. cit.*, p. 395. Three letters addressed to Shah of Badakhshan by Emperor Ch'ien Lung in this connection were reproduced by A. Vissiere: *Etudes Sino-Mahometanes*, (Paris, 1911) Vol. I, pp. 135-144.



into the military and political affairs. All these responsible posts, including the High Commissioner and police chiefs, were to be appointed from among the Manchus only.<sup>1</sup>

b. There were 11 big Muslim cities with a number of small towns in the whole area. In the west of Kashgaria there were Kashgar, Yarkand, Yangihisar and Khotan. In the middle there were Aksu, Uch, Kuchar and Pichan. In the east there were Hami, Turfan and Karashahr.

In each of these cities an 'Azam-Beg' (Chief Beg) was to be appointed from among the Muslims to look after the Muslim affairs, including religious and non-military and non-political matters. They would have their special ranks and grades in the Manchu Imperial Civil Service.<sup>2</sup>

This 'Azam-Beg' was responsible to the Political Agent in relation to the Muslim population under his jurisdiction. The Beg was to pay homage to the Emperor and the priority of audience with the Emperor was arranged according to seniority in age. . . . There was an exchange of garrisons between these cities and the cities in the north or in Knasu.

c. Kashgaria was allowed to have its own currency, with legal tender, equal to that of the Manchu Imperial cash. A Mint House was established at Aksu for the purpose of coining the 'pul' with copper mined from Yarkand. The form and size of the 'pul' and that of the Imperial cash seemed to be the same, with one essential difference: the 'pul' had no hole in the middle while the cash had. Fifty 'puls' make one 'tanka.'

1. Shiao Yi-shan, op. cit., II, p. 89.

2. Pei Shao-yi, op. cit., p. 396.



Beside these measures, taxes were reduced to 5 per cent on all kinds of products including cotton, saffron, fruits and cattle in Sinkiang. This was very important to improve conditions and ease tensions among the people who had been overtaxed by the Khojas during their struggle for independence. Inter-marriage was forbidden, separate residence quarters for the Chinese and the Manchus from the Muslim population were established. Thus, beside every Muslim city in the south Sinkiang there sprang up a new Chinese city, the residence quarter of the Chinese Political Agent and his followers.

With the Beg-system the Muslims seemed to be satisfied with their lot and they, therefore remained in peace more than sixty years, during which they prospered greatly.



(ii) Jahangir's Revolt (1820).

The political arrangement enforced in Kashgaria by the Manchu Imperial Council had its good points. It imposed on the natives a rigid control and at the same time gave them a kind of internal autonomy, represented by the Beg System. The Beg to the natives was their Ruler, not the Agent, who kept himself aloof from the population, but having a supervisory function.

As long as the selection of political officers for appointment to Muslim cities in Sinkiang was based on merit, this system worked well. But when as time passed, and selections were not in conformity with proper procedure or standard, favoritism crept in. The result was that unqualified subordinates of some political officer got appointment to these responsible posts, on the recommendation of the retiring master, who hoped to receive 'gifts' in return. Officials appointed in this way usually had their own cliques and group interests which resulted always in creating new means for extra income.

The Beg of any city in Sinkiang became a mere puppet in the hands of the political Agents and his position was similar to that of a Maharaja or a Nawab in the British India, to be used as instruments in carrying out Manchu policies.

When a group of officers who were in league with one another decided to put pressure on the Beg, their collective pressure carried more weight on him than that of any individual



officer. The Beg too, in most cases was an easy-going character brought in from some other city and set over the local population. Thus the Beg was always ready to concede to the demands of the political officers and a new rule might be enacted for a separate tax or for the increase of the existing taxes, or to impose certain additions in cash or in kind. The total amount collected in this way, in the name of the Beg, would be shared by all officers holding key posts in the city's administration. The Chief Political Agent usually got 20 per cent.<sup>1</sup> Nobody would or could interfere, or make a report to the Imperial Capital on such illegal proceedings. In this way the people were always under 'squeeze.'

It was this kind of local ruling that caused the rebellion of Jahangir in Kashgar in the 25th year of Chia-Ching (1820).

Jahangir was the grandson of the Big Khoja whose story I have related in the previous section of this chapter. The Big Khoja left a son named Shamok, who took refuge in Khokand. This Shamok had three sons, of whom Jahangir was the second, a man of great energy and learning who had established a name for himself among the tribesmen. Meanwhile a number of Muslims who could not endure the oppression of the Manchu officials in South Sinkiang were forced by circumstances to flee to Khokand. At the same time the people of Burut had looked to the Manchu officials with deep hatred<sup>2</sup> and because of bad treatment their

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1. Fu Thong Hsien. op. cit., p. 133.

2. Ibid., p. 134.



people and merchants received at the hands of the Manchu officials in Kashgar, they were willing to follow some leader who could lead them to take revenge. Thus Jahangir, in the 25th year of Chia-Ching (1820) accepted the leadership of the Burutis. He gathered a large number of followers and marched toward Kashgar. But he was pushed back at a frontier post. Nevertheless he continued to make raids on the frontier.

In 1825 the Manchu Frontier Commander led his men 400 miles out of his post with the intention to capture Jahangir but he did not meet him on the way. Instead, he let his soldiers loose on the tribes around Burut and killed hundreds of their men and women. Their Chief Tala'k led 2,000 of his horsemen and pursued the Manchu soldiers into the mountains. Meanwhile he sent messengers to neighboring cities asking for help, and many tribesmen flocked to his aid.<sup>1</sup>

In 1826 Jahangir appeared before Kashgar. He first went to his Grandfather's tomb and said his prayers there. Then many of the people of the neighboring Muslim cities joined him. Within a few days he was able to gather around him a big army, numbering about 10,000 men. With this superiority, he could easily defeat the Manchu garrison at Kashgar. Meanwhile a force of 3,000 men came from Khokand to join him, and on 20 August, 1826, he captured Kashgar. Following this success he marched toward Yangihisar, Yarkand and Khotan, which fell into his hands one after another.

Now the Manchu Imperial Court at Peking felt the need

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1. Pei Shao-yi. op. cit., p. 402.



to take immediate action for re-capturing these four cities. Orders, were therefore sent to Yang Yu-chung (楊述春) the Governor-General of Kansu and Shensi, to march with his men to end the rebellion in South Sinkiang. Yang led his 5,000 soldiers toward Hami. At the same time General Wu Long-au, the Military Commander of Shantung, was ordered to march with 5,000 cavalry to enforce General Yang's position at Aksu. This city suddenly became of the first importance for military operations, where more than 10,000 men, including horsemen and foot soldiers, were already concentrated for action. The Manchu generals attacked Jahangir from three sides at the strategic point called Orbin, 300 miles of Southwest Aksu. Jahangir could not defend that place and retreated toward Kashgar and concentrated his forces, numbering about 100,000 on the bank of the Khun River, 80 miles from Kashgar, with the determination to fight to the end. He lined his forces 20 miles along the Khun River; deep trenches were dug and ramparts constructed and fighting spirit was heightened. They were waiting for the arrival of the enemy. No doubt, there was no comparison in numerical strength between the two forces, for the Manchu Imperial army led by General Yang was about one third of that of Jahangir. But the superior military strategy which the Manchu Imperial Generals employed to deal with this situation, made Jahangir's plan futile. The Manchus did not begin to attack the main body of Jahangir's army at the center which was difficult to break through. First they sent one thousand horsemen to attack the lower side of his big army, then a second batch of a few thousand was sent to disrupt the



other end of Jahangir's forces. This strategy caused confusion among Jahangir's army, who had not the least idea about the numerical strength of their enemy in the whole field. Meanwhile, the vanguards of the Manchu Imperial forces sent their heavy shells on the central body of Jahangir's forces, who lost coordination with their left and right wings and failed to hold the attack. Thus his main army at the center was routed within a few days.

Following this big victory, the Manchu Imperial army made a swift drive to Kashgar, which was captured in March, 1827. Then Yarkand, Yangihisar and Khotan fell in successive months. In this way the Manchus regained control over Kashgaria, including the four big cities. General Yang Fang, a Chinese Military Commander, was put there with 8,000 men to defend the whole area of Kashgaria.

Jahangir fled across the border to Khokand, but 10,000 pieces of gold was set as a price for his head. Even this allurements did not induce anybody to bring the wanted head to the Manchus. But finally he was captured by treacherous means. The Manchus, who knew that Jahangir belonged to the 'White-Mountaineers' sect, rivals of the Black-Mountaineers. These 'Black-Mountaineers' were sent across the frontier to induce Jahangir to come nearer to the frontier. He came to meet the Black-Mountaineers and at the point of Amoukil, he was suddenly beset by the Manchus, who caught him alive at a mountain pass. He was put in irons and brought to Peking. The Manchu Emperor Tao-Kwang wished to have a look at this Rebel Chief and to hear from him what he wished. Those officers who knew the true



causes of his rebellion were alarmed, fearing that Jahangir would disclose the corrupt practices of the political officers in Kashgaria to the Emperor.<sup>1</sup> Jahangir was poisoned before he reached the audience. He was silenced forever.

1. Fu Thong-hsien. op. cit., p. 136.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY MASTER'S ESSAY



(iii) The Muslim Rebellion in Northwest China.

During the Ching dynasty there were several Muslim uprisings in Northwest China due to different causes. One occurred in Lanchow in 1781 and the other in Shih Fong Pao in continuation of that started at Lanchow. The third was in Shensi in the first year of Tung-chi (1862) and spread at a later stage to Kansu.

1. The Uprisings of Lanchow and Shih Fong Pao (1781)

In the discussion of the rebellions of the Khoja brothers, I have mentioned two main Muslim sects in Sinkiang: The White-Mountaineers and the Black-Mountaineers, antagonistic to each other. To the first group the Khoja's family belonged and the second had their religious leaders from the 'Salars' of Persian origin, who were found in the East of Sinkiang and in Kansu.

In Northwest China, that is Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, the Black-Mountaineers had their sectarian Headquarters at Sining (present provincial capital of Ninghsia) and their special doctrine was to read the Qoran in silence. They have followed this tradition without challenge. But a sectarian friction began to appear during the region of Chi'en Lung when a prominent Muslim scholar known as Ma Ming-shin (Mohammed Amin) returned from his visits to the Muslim cities of learning in Central Asia. In Samarkand, Bukhara and Ferghana, all Muslim centers, he noticed that nobody read the Qoran in



silence. When he returned to Kansu, he started to preach that the Qoran should be read not in silence. This new practice caused a split in the Muslim religious rank in Sining. Since then, those who held the doctrine to read the Qoran in silence were called Old Sect and those who adopted the new practice got the denomination of New Sect.<sup>1</sup> This split naturally led to controversy which in turn led to trouble in the locality. This sectarian antagonism came in to the open in 1781, when Mr. Su, surnamed "the 43rd," disciple of Ma Ming-shin, gathered his followers and assailed the members of the Old Sect, resulting in injuries to many and death to some. This incident was brought to the notice of the Magistrate of Lanchow, who with his assistant was assassinated while making the arrest of the principal criminals. Their murder compelled the Governor-General of Kansu to take strong action. Ma Ming-shin was arrested and sent to jail. His followers besieged the city demanding his immediate release. The Commissioner of Political Affairs asked Ma Ming-shin to ascend the city wall and speak to his followers assuring them that he would be released the next day if they ceased to attack. But in that very night Ma Ming-shin was executed in prison. His execution kindled a fire.

The Muslims broke into open rebellion and attacked the city of Lanchow. The Manchu Court despatched one regiment of artillery to cope with the situation, and reinforcements also came from Sian. The Muslim rebels were driven to Lin Hwa Shan.

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1. Fu Thong Hsien; op. cit., pp. 140-141.



a hill in the southwest of Lanchow where they had their stronghold. They were besieged by the Manchu Imperial army from three sides for months. Finally with the arrival of new reinforcements Manchus were able to penetrate into the stronghold where the Muslims were all burned alive inside their mosque<sup>1</sup> and no single person of these believers surrendered to the Manchus. With capture of Linhwa the trouble was brought to an end.

The Shih-Fong Pao Incident: After pacifying the Lanchow trouble, the Manchu officers continued to carry on investigations about persons who still followed the New Sect, which in their opinion seemed to be suspected like those of the "White-Lotus" Sect<sup>2</sup> and in this process, followers of the New Sect had been ill-treated. This situation roused resentment in the hearts of these people. Their leader Tien Wu-ahong, who inherited the position left by Ma Ming-shin continued to preach the tenets of the New Sect in Shin Fong Pao. He used the local mosque as his spiritual center, and feeling that someday his followers might be persecuted by the Manchu officials, he encouraged them to develop physical culture, camping, and the use of fire arms. He seemed to maintain a complete secrecy and was not discovered until the 4th moon of the 48th year of Chi'en Lung (1783) when he sent a few of his disciples to inspect the neighboring town. This came to the notice of the Governor of Kansu who sent his army to besiege them. A

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1. Fu Thong-Hsien. op. cit., p. 141.

2. Supra. pp. 35.



pitched battle followed, outside the city of Fukan, resulting in equal losses on both sides. But the leader of the New Sect, Tien Wu-ahong was killed.

Following this, General Li Tzi-yao (李侍堯) a well known Manchu General who participated in suppressing Ma Ming-shing's followers at Lanchow two years before, gave orders under which thousands of innocent Muslim women and children were beheaded. This General hated Muslims and it seemed that he had an intention to uproot Muslims from the area under his jurisdiction. At this urgent moment some Muslim leaders, such as Ma Sze-kui and Chang Wen-ching stood forward and led the Muslim mass for a final resistance. They massed a considerable force and in the 5th moon they crossed the Yellow River at the point of Ching-Yuan and marched against the city of Thongwei and captured it. But they were pushed back by the new reinforcements consisting of 2,000 artillery under the command of the Manchu General A-Kwei and retreated to Shih Fong Pao, with the determination to stand to the last man. But by cutting off the water supply the Manchu army forced Muslims to leave. In this attempt they were cut to pieces. The Imperial army entered the city and massacred all the youths, but left about 5,000 women and children of the New Sect.<sup>1</sup>

After the fall of Shih Fong Pao and the destruction of the majority of its members, the strength of the New Sect was broken and the trouble was finally brought to an end. Then an

1. Wei Yuan's Shen-Wu Chi (聖武記), vol. 7, chapter: Re-pacification of the Kansu Muslim Revolt; and Pol Shao-yi, op. cit., pp. 383-386.



Imperial decree was issued to the effect that Muslims in future were forbidden to engage in sectarian controversy.

2. The Uprising in Shensi and Kansu (1862-1870)

In the later years of Hsien Feng (1851-61), the Police Commissioner of Honan, Nien Shu-sen drew on conscription basis from the neighboring districts 600 Muslim young men to serve as guards responsible for the security and order of the Provincial capital. These guards were sent home when Commissioner Nien was transferred to Hupeh. These men on their way home cut off a few bamboos at a place called 'Little Chang's Village' for lances which they needed for self defense on the way. This caused a fight between the guards and the local volunteers who had been organized especially for the purpose of protecting the interests of the villagers<sup>1</sup> resulting in two deaths among the former. The news of this little incident spread into the neighboring city, Tali-hsien (大荔縣) where some tension between Muslims and their neighbors had prevailed for some time. Those who maintained the feeling of hatred towards Muslims took this opportunity and instigated the local population and sent messengers to the provincial capital, accusing them of secret activities against the authorities. The Governor-General was requested to take immediate action to check the trouble. Moreover, rumors were spread widely by the instigators that the Imperial army would come to 'whitewash' the Muslims, meaning to 'kill every one of them.' In these circumstances the Muslims who lived in the neighboring district

1. Bales, op. cit., pp. 196-211. The volunteers were organized for defending against the "Nien-fei."



were thrown into confusion. At the same time mutual suspicion between Muslims and non-Muslims grew deeper and deeper and each side was apprehensive that the other side would do something.

Now there appeared among the Muslims of Weinan a certain man called Shen Wu who was said to be one of those fighters who took part in the Yunnan uprising during the 5th and 6th year of Hsien Feng (1855-56) and escaped to Shensi. He was a courageous man prepared to fight the Imperial army if they came to attack the Muslims.

In the 1st year of Tung-Chi (1862) they established a strong position around the district of Weinan.

The Manchu Imperial Court sent Chang-zi as the Pacification Commissioner. He arrived at the city of Lin-Thong in the fifth moon. Next morning 10 Muslim leaders came to visit him. He said to them, "You are good Muslims, not trouble makers. The only trouble maker is Shen Wu, the chief criminal. He alone should be punished."<sup>1</sup>

Among the leaders interviewed was Shen Wu, the wanted man. He ran back and gathered several thousand of his men and had the Commissioner arrested and executed. They then marched to besiege Sian.

The Manchu Imperial Court now ordered Shen Pao and Tolong Auo, two well known and able military officers, to pacify the trouble which was spreading to a wide area in Shensi. They first captured the districts of Wang Kuo Village and Kanpei Cheng. Next spring they drove the Muslims out of Sianfu,

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1. Fu Thong-hsien, op. cit., p. 143.



most of whom were killed while some escaped to Kansu, which was immediately affected by the trouble starting in Sian.

The Muslims in Shensi, in the course of their fighting, sent their men to their brethren in faith in Kansu, asking for help. The Kansu Muslims took immediate action and their leader Ma Hwa-lung raised his standard at Ching-Chi-pao; Ma Pen-yuan established his headquarters at Si-ning and Pei Nienfu stationed his men at Weinan. Their spirit was high and they inflicted defeats several times on the Manchu Imperial army.

Ma Hwa-lung was a disciple of Ma Ming-shin. He was the Imam of that locality, the religious leader of the faithful, in succession of the late Imam, Mota. He was a popular leader and commanded respect among all the believers. He was welcomed to Sining.

At the same time other leaders such as Ma Nien-lung and Ma Tchan-au gathered their men at Hochow and carried attacks on Ti-Tao. Thus everywhere there was Muslim uprising. The details of these uprisings and their suppression by General Tso Tsung-tang are to be found in Bales' book "Tso Tsung-tang."<sup>1</sup> Chapters VIII, XI and X. Here below I just give an outline of Tso Tsung-tung's operations.

The situation became extremely serious, and after a long consultation the Manchu Imperial Court appointed General Tso Tsung-tang, an able Hunanese General who had been all these years engaged in the suppression of the Taiping and the Nienfei rebellions in Central China, as the Pacification Commissioner.

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1. Bales; Tso Tsung-tang is mainly based on the "History of the Ching Dynasty."



He assumed the function of the Commander-in-Chief for the Pacification of Shensi and Kansu in the 6th moon of the 6th year of Tung Chi (1867). He arrived at Sian and established his headquarters there in the 10th moon of 1868. Then he divided his forces into three main divisions which were ordered to advance from three directions: The North division was put under the command of General Liu Sung-shan, with the instruction to march from Suiteh to attack Ching-chi-pao; the South division, under the command of Chow Kai-shih with the order to march from Taichow to Hoti and the Central division under himself, drive before him all the Muslims from Shensi to Kansu, in order to limit their activities and to make the rear of operation more secured, by restricting the fighting area within Kansu alone.

In the 12th moon General Liu Sung-shan arrived at Suiteh, marched to Talichwan, Shaolichwas, and took over the Muslim fortifications, leaving behind in the field 8,000 victims. In the 8th moon of the 8th year of Tung-chih (1869), the forces of General Liu entered Linchow (靈州) where he encountered the main body of Ma Hwa Lung's army who received a series of defeats at the hands of Liu's forces.

Tsui San and Ma Tchong-nien, two other Muslim leaders, made an attempt to coordinate their activities with the Muslims in Hochow, in order to help Ma Hwa Lung at Linchow. But their attempts were discovered by the Manchu officials who sent their men to wait on the main road and ambush them as they appeared. About 5,000 Muslims were killed. Linchow which had been held by Ma Hwa Lung for a considerable time, at last fell into the



hands of General Liu's army. Ma Hwa Lung escaped to Ching Chi-pao.

In the 1st moon of the 9th year of Tung Chi (1870) Liu Sung-shan was killed while directing operations on the fortress of Mawu. He was replaced by his son, Liu Ching-tang<sup>1</sup> who took over Ching Chi-pao and other Muslim fortresses one after another.

In the 11th moon Ma Hwa Lung surrendered to Liu Ching-tang before whom he confessed his guilt, but pleaded innocence for the Muslim people. In so doing he hoped to save as many Muslims as possible. In the end Ma Hwa-lung was executed, and some of 10,000 Muslim population were driven to Pingliang.<sup>2</sup> With his execution the Muslim resistance was broken. Ma Tchan Au at Hoohow at last surrendered too. Thus peace and order was restored in the provinces of Shensi and Kansu by the military genius of Tso Tsung-tang. But Pei Nienfu, another well-known Muslim leader who participated in the uprising, fled to Sinkiang where he later joined Yakoub Beg about whom we shall read in the following pages.

1. In suppression of Yakoub Beg's Rebellion in Sinkiang, General Liu Ching Tang became Tso Tsung-tang's right-hand man.

2. Pei Shio-yl. *op. cit.*, pp. 415-19; Fu Thong Hsien. *op. cit.*, pp. 143-44.



(iv) The Independent Movement of Yakoub Beg

(January 1865 - December 1877)

1. Conditions in Sinkiang at the Time of Yakoub's Adventure.

At the time of Yakoub's adventure Sinkiang was nominally under the control of the Chinese Viceroy appointed by the Manchu Emperor, who had his office at Kuldja on the Russian border, but in reality, the "New Dominion" was divided into Princely States under the rule of different local Begg. Hami was virtually an independent kingdom under the Hami-Wang, Kashgaria, with Kashgar as its capital, was under Sadik Beg and Urumchi had another ruler called by the Chinese 'the Muslim Sultan,' who was the most powerful in Sinkiang.

This deterioration of political conditions in Sinkiang was directly due to the long and wide unrest in China Proper, to the weakness of the Manchu garrison in Sinkiang and to the ambitions of different groups of people in struggling for power or independence in Sinkiang.

We first, take for instance Toumin Khan, a Tungan Muslim leader of Kansu, who was among the rebel leaders of Ching Chi-pao and made his escape to Urumchi where he was welcomed by the Political Officer Soh Huan-chang (索煥章). This Soh was also a Muslim whose father Soh Wen was a former Army Commander in Kansu who studied under Toumin.<sup>1</sup> Here we see

1. Pei Shao-yi. op. cit., p. 421.



the close relationship between Toumin and Soh Huan-chang, the Political Officer in Urumchi, and his influence among the Tungan people.

The Manchu Governor at Urumchi at that time was Ping Sui, who had to go to the south to suppress a revolt at Kuchar, where the Muslim leader Ma Lung gathered his men and elected Bakhsh-din as the religious leader of the "Black-Mountaineers," with an intention to gain some political power. Imperial troops went under Governor Ping-sui's command but failed to put down the disturbance. The Governor returned from Karashahr after losing his men. His failure gave the opportunity to Soh Huan-chang, the Political Officer at Urumchi to seize power. He had the Governor arrested and executed. Then he occupied the Chinese city and declared Toumin the Ruler of Urumchi and himself the Commander-in-Chief. His influence grew with the support of the Muslims. Thus in a few months he captured Chitai, Sullai, Chang Kih and other cities. With the increase of power and area under his control, Toumin was elected Sultan in 1865 with his Headquarters at Urumchi, virtually controlling all the districts in the north and northwest of Sinkiang.

In East Sinkiang Jam Shah occupied Kucheng, Hami and Turfan. Meanwhile the Muslims at Kuchar under the leadership of Bakhsh-din moved toward the south and in successive attacks took possession of Karashahr, Aksu, Uch, and Yarkand. And what remained in the hands of the Manchu garrisons were only two cities in the south, Yangihisar and Kashgar, and one city in the north, Kuldja.

It was in such conditions that Yakoub Beg appeared on



the stage of the Sinkiang political affairs.

## 2. Yakoub's Adventure in Sinkiang

Yakoub Beg, the future ruler of an independent kingdom in South Sinkiang, was born in 1825 at Pishkent, Khokand. He claimed to be the descendant of Tamerlane on his mother's side and married a sister of the Amir of Tashkent which was under the jurisdiction of the ruler of Khokand before Russian occupation. In this connection he was involved in the Khokandi politics. He fought the Russians at Ak-Musjid in 1853. He was popular among the Khokandi politicians and was the right-hand man of Alim Kuli, Ruler of Khokand.

Yakoub Beg's coming to Kashgar began with the request of Sadik Beg, the Kirghizi Chief who had control over the Muslim city of Kashgar.

At the time of the general political unrest in Sinkiang, the Muslims in Kashgar intended to rise and wanted some one of the Khoja's families to come over to Kashgaria to help them. Sadik Beg sent his request to Alim Kuli, the Ruler of Khokand, asking for help. As he himself was in Tashkent, preparing a defense against the Russians and not able to come himself, Alim kuli agreed to send Yakoub Beg and Buzruk Khan, cousin of Wali Khan, former ruler of Kashgar, to Kashgar. Meanwhile Alim Kuli was killed, Tashkent was taken by the Russians and Khokand had a new ruler called Khudayar Khan, whom Yakoub did not like to serve. He therefore decided to come with Buzruk Khan to Kashgar.

The two men left Tashkent in the summer of 1864 and in the city of Khokand they were joined by 62 hardy adventurers



and early in January 1865 they crossed the Terek Pass and entered Kashgar without trouble.

Sadik Beg now regretted his invitation to the Khojas and attempted to dissuade Buzruk Khan from his enterprise. But Buzruk Khan proclaimed himself the Ruler of Kashgar, giving Yakoub Beg a free hand to deal with any situation that might rise. Sadik Beg turned against them, but was defeated and driven out.

After having established his position in Kashgar, Yakoub turned his attention to Yarkand, by-passing Yangihisar. He was joined by the spirited Badakhshans, and after 40 days of siege, the Chinese garrison surrendered. More bands came under his banner.

The Tungans concentrated their forces at Maralbashi and at the initial stage of the struggle between Yakoub Beg and the Tungans, fortune seemed to be against Yakoub. But at the end he routed the Tungans in the Oasis of Yangihisar. After this victory Yakoub returned to Kashgar and more cities submitted to his authority.

By the end of 1865 Yakoub Beg was the master of Kashgaria. In less than a year he laid the groundwork for his kingdom which lasted for 13 years (from 1865 to 1877). His last fight in this area was against the Chinese garrisons at Yangihisar. In this fight 2,000 Chinese were killed and 3,000 were taken to Kashgar.<sup>1</sup>

Yakoub Beg was now in power in the land and he set out

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1. D.C. Boulger, The Life of Yakoub Beg, (London 1918), p. 306.



to consolidate his authority. He relieved his Master Buzruk Khan by asking him to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca. He became known as Atalik Ghazi, a title conferred on him by the Amir of Bukhara, who needed his help in facing the rapid advance of the Russians. Later on, Yakoub brought about the subjugation of Khotan by having its ruler Habibullah assassinated.

Toumin held a strong position at Urumchi and it was not easy for Yakoub to attack him without running risk. He used diplomacy. First, he concluded with Sultan Toumin a 'boundary agreement' fixing their respective boundary line at 12 miles north of Karashahr,<sup>1</sup> and second, he made friends with a Chinese General named Hsu Hsio-kong who still held some 5,000 soldiers in the vicinity of Urumchi and apparently kept some kind of friendship with the Sultan.

In the 9th year of Tung Chi (1869) Yakoub Beg fought Toumin 40 miles out of Urumchi and defeated his army. Toumin himself fled to Sullai where he died a few months later. Thus Urumchi and its surrounding districts fell into his hands one after another.<sup>2</sup> He returned to Kashgar after having left Ma Pah-chi, a Tungan, as his Chief agent in the north under the title of Azam-Beg.

Yakoub Beg reached the climax of his power and his territory now extended from Khotan to Urumchi and from Turfan to the border of Khokand. At the height of his power, he was approached by both the Russians and the British whose rivalry

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1. Pei Shao-yl. op. cit., p. 424.

2. Ibid.



in Central Asia at this period reached the most alarming point.

### 3. Yakoub Beg and the Russians

From the beginning Yakoub Beg had difficulties with the Russians. He had been against the Russians since 1853 when he had unsuccessfully defended Ak-Musjid against General Perofsky. In various engagements with the Russians Yakoub had always been defeated. Now he was the master of Kashgaria and was still against them. From the beginning he took the line that Russians would have ended his power if the Chinese left him.

The Russians were by no means unmindful of the advantage of Sinkiang, but it seemed that they preferred the north of Sinkiang to the south in their special political program, particularly in the Ili Valley.<sup>1</sup>

The Russians moving from Semipalatinsk, first occupied the trans-Ili region as far as Vierny in 1853. The Chinese had a shadowy claim to the lower Ili Valley and to Lake Balkash as a result of the conquest by Chi'en Lung about the middle of 18th century. By treaty of 1860 the Chinese Government, out of consideration for the supposed assistance by the Russians in getting the British and French out of Peking, agreed to a rectification of the Sino-Russian frontier. In the Far East this rectification made the Amur and Ussuri Rivers the border, giving Russia the Maritime Province and the territory claimed by China down to the mouth of the Amou. In Central Asia the rectification gave Russia most of the territory that was later to become the province of Semiretch and the Ili Valley west of

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1. Ibid., p. 425.



Koibyn became Russian.<sup>1</sup>

It was in 1867 while the Franchis and Tungans had been fighting for political power in the Kuldja region, that General Kaufman, Governor-General of Russian Turkistan, after settling with Samarkand, turned his attention to Khokand and the eastern districts. He occupied the northern approach to the Muzart Pass in order to discourage Yakoub Beg from sending troops to the Valley by that route. Disorders continued in and around Kuldja and the borders continued to be raided by robbers. General Kaufman decided to end this state of affairs and in the summer of 1871 a force was collected for the pacification of Kuldja. General Kolpakofsky was in command and, after minor resistance, Abil Oglia, who was also named Ala Khan, surrendered and Kuldja was occupied in July 1871.

The occupation of the Ili by the Russians roused displeasure in Yakoub Beg who, as a measure of retaliation, refused to allow the Russians to trade in his dominion and when certain Russian merchants with powerful official support came into Kashgaria, he bought outright their entire stock and sent them back to Russia. The Russians had consolidated their positions in the mountains between Issik Kul and Kashgaria by establishing Ft. Naryn in 1868.<sup>2</sup> This was resented by Yakoub Beg, who countered it by fortifying Aksu very strongly. General Kaufman tried to enter into relations with Yakoub Beg in much the same manner as he did with Khokand, but Yakoub wanted to deal directly with St. Petersburg. General Kaufman then tried to

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1. Bales. op. cit., pp. 310-311. 2. Ibid., p. 316.



induce Khudayar Khan, ruler of Khokand, to assert his alleged suzerain right over Kashgaria, move into Kashgar and expel Yakoub Beg. But Khudayar Khan declined the suggestion. A letter was then sent to Yakoub informing him that unless he entered into friendly relations on the same basis as Khokand and Bukhara, his treatment of Russia and Russians was going to be severely punished. To General Kaufmann's letter Yakoub replied:

The last envoy who brought your letter was not a Russian, not because there was no Russian to send but because you seemed to think Khokand and Bukhara only worthy of this honor. If the Russians believed in my good wishes they would send me one of their men, which would show me their kind intention, and which I would consider a proof of their good disposition toward me. If your words be really an expression of good will toward me, let some one come to us of more account than your merchants. Send me some Russian, or even a Tashkent Sart, though he be only a shepherd, and I will send back to you my envoy of my own.<sup>1</sup>

As a result of these correspondences, Baron Kaulbars was sent on a mission to Kashgar to conclude a commercial treaty with Yakoub Beg. At the same time the Russians began to move troops and supplies on a large scale to Ft. Naryn. A treaty was signed on June 10, 1872, and Yakoub Beg was greatly pleased that he was thus recognized as a sovereign by the Russians. He asked and received permission to send an envoy to St. Petersburg. In summer of 1873 this envoy was received by the Tzar and treated with much consideration.<sup>2</sup> The treaty, however, failed to have a notable effect on trade relations as Russian merchants were still denied freedom of action. Military preparations continued and the Russians would probably have

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid., p. 317.



Invaded Kashgaria in 1873 if the Forsyth Mission sent by the British Government was not there. Yakoub Beg derived no little comfort from this mission and it encouraged him to take a stronger tone than ever against the Russians. But the Kaulbars Mission had taken the measure of Yakoub Beg and the force he had at his disposal. They gathered an army of 20,000 under the great Skobelev, and made ready early in 1875 to eliminate Yakoub Beg. At this juncture an insurrection broke out in Khokand that threatened to involve the greater part of Russian Turkistan. The army for service in Kashgaria had to be withdrawn and used in other fields. Yakoub Beg had a narrow escape.

Notwithstanding the fact that he assumed leadership of the Muslims in Central Asia and that the uprising of 1875 gave an opportunity to prove his leadership in a general struggle with Russia, Yakoub Beg failed to lift a hand in support of his co-religionists in their resistance to the Russians. His conduct in this crisis is probably best explained by the supposition that he began to hear the disquieting news that General Tso Tsung-tang was in Kansu and his armies were on the way to reconquer North and South Sinkiang for the Manchu Empire.<sup>1</sup>

#### 4. Yakoub Beg and British India

At the very beginning of his gaining power in Kashgaria, Yakoub Beg sent his envoy to Lord Lawrence, Viceroy of British India (1864-69) to negotiate a military and defence treaty against the Russians and the Manchus,<sup>2</sup> which the Viceroy refused to consider. Afterwards when Yakoub established his

1. Ibid., pp. 317-318. 2. Pei Shao-yi, op.cit., p.428.



Independent Kingdom of a considerable size, situated between Tsarist Russia and British India, Great Britain, in the interest of British India, asked Lord Mayo, the Viceroy of India (1869-1873) to take necessary steps to establish friendly relations with Yakoub on treaty basis. Thus the Forsyth Mission was sent in 1873 and a treaty was concluded, according to which Yakoub's sovereignty over Kashgaria was recognized. At the same time his sovereignty was recognized by the Sultan of Turkey, who conferred on him the title "Amir of Kashgaria."<sup>1</sup>

According to Boulger, author of the "Life of Yakoub Beg," the British Mission headed by Forsyth arrived at Kashgar. His primary object was to make an estimate of the situation in that sector of Central Asia. His presence gave a great deal of encouragement to Yakoub Beg, for at that very moment Russia was threatening him with an invasion if he did not come to terms with her. But the British Envoy did not make any promise to Yakoub Beg, obviously because he saw that any power occupying Kashgar or South Sinkiang would hardly be a threat to India.<sup>2</sup> Thus he signed only a friendly treaty without any clause on mutual defence or military aid.

In accordance with this friendly treaty the British Minister at Peking approached the Manchu Imperial Government pressing for ceding the eight cities in South Sinkiang (Kashgar, Yangihisar, Yarkand, Khotan, Aksu, Kuchar, Korla and Turfan) to Yakoub Beg as the territory of his independent

1. Pei Shao-yi. op. cit., p. 426.

2. Bales. op. cit., p. 307.



kingdom.<sup>1</sup> At the same time the Manchu Minister to St. James, Kuo Sung-shui, made a similar suggestion to the Throne.<sup>2</sup> For this and other more serious reasons, in connection with the rapid deterioration of the political situation in China proper and the factor of a huge budget for military operations in Sinkiang, which amounted to 9,080,000 taels a year<sup>3</sup> and a period of uncertain limit of time for the operation, the majority of the State Counsellors in the Imperial Court, inclined to grant an independent status to Yakoub Beg in Kashgaria. But a vigorous protest from Central Tso Tsung-tang, who was just appointed Pacification Commissioner of Sinkiang and established his Headquarters at Su-chow, Kansu, prevented such a decision to be taken and his opinion stopped further discussion on this matter.

In his famous memorandum to the Throne, General Tso stated:

I have been a simple and bookish man whom Your Majesty elevated to a Ministerial position in the State Affairs. I now reached 65 years of age - too old to do anything good for the Empire. But the truth remains: 'Ili has slipped into the hands of Russia and now Yakoub Beg is holding a strong grip on Kashgaria. The logical conclusion is that untold troubles will follow if we have washed our hands from the affairs in Sinkiang'. . .<sup>4</sup>

General Tso recommended immediate and strong military action and in commenting on the suggestion of the British Minister he said: "If the British are sincere in their purpose and intention to gain friendship of Yakoub Beg, they should first cede parts of India to him." Today there are already 32

1. Pei Shao-yi. op. cit., p. 426.

2. Ibid., p. 428.

3. Ibid., p. 426.

4. Ibid., pp 426-427.



regiments of our army in South of Tien-Shan under General Liu Ching-tang's command. The restoration of order in that part of the Empire does not seem very difficult. If the British Minister comes to repeat his suggestion, please ask him to come to see me at my Headquarters at Su-chow!"<sup>1</sup>

This strong attitude of General Tso Tsung Tang defeated the British diplomacy with regard to Yakoub Beg's independence in Kashgaria.

#### 5. General Tso Tsung-tang's Campaign in Sinkiang

General Tso Tsun-tang, was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Pacification Campaign in Sinkiang in the 3rd moon of the first year of Kwang Hsu (1875) assisted by two able deputies: one was General Chin Hsun who was already with 40 regiments at Kucheng, and the other was General Liu Ching-tang, son of General Liu Sung-shan, whom we met in the story of the Muslim Rebellion in Kansu.

In February 1876 General Tso arrived at Lanchow, then moved to Su-chow where he established, for directing military operations, his headquarters and General Liu was asked to march ahead with 32 regiments of army consisting of artillery and cavalry and foot-soldiers. In May of the same year General Liu arrived at Barkul and established his military station there. He met General Chin Hsun who was stationed at Kucheng and conferred with him on military strategy. They agreed to establish their Command at the city of Fu-kang, thence directing their operations on Wang-tien to prevent Yakoub's

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1. Ibid., pp. 428-29.



enforcement in North Sinkiang which was their main objective at the primary stage of operation.

At this time Yakoub Beg had established his defense lines on the following points:

1. Urumchi under the direction of Ma Zen-teh;
2. Hung Miao-tze, under the direction of Pei Nienfu, a Muslim leader who participated in the Kansu Rebellion;
3. Khumal under the direction of Ma Ming, and
4. Tuksun under himself.

The Manchu Imperial army, according to their plans, first marched to attack Urumchi. The garrisons of this big city, learning the arrival of the Imperial army, fled from their posts northwest. Thus in a few weeks Urumchi was occupied without much fighting. After it other cities such as Chang-Kih, Futupee and Manass surrendered. The 5,000 soldiers whom Yakoub sent to enforce the position of the defense of Urumchi halted at a place called Tapan, 200 miles away from Urumchi. In the Winter of 1876 Yakoub retreated to Karashahr, leaving Tuksun under his son Khairullah, and Turfan under Ma Zen-teh and Pei Nienfu, and Tapan to one of his able commanders.

In order to attack these positions General Liu advanced from Urumchi toward Tapan and General Chang Yao from Hami toward Turfan, the gate of South Sinkiang, which was taken after bitter fighting and the Muslim Commander Pei Nienfu fled. Meanwhile other important cities including Tuksun and Tapan also fell.

At the moment when General Tso Tsung-tang's army set



foot on the soil of Sinkiang, Yakoub Beg apprehended that he would not be able to withhold these big and well equipped forces and he, therefore, asked help from India and for the purpose of buying arms and amunitions, he had to impose heavy taxes on his own subjects, who at the same time were deprived of the opportunities of trade, because of the continuation of war. These factors affected the psychology of his people who turned to feel that Yakoub was no good for them. They lost confidence in him and could no longer support him in his struggle. Thus he lost city after city and his kingdom shrank smaller and smaller every other day. Finding himself in such a helpless situation, he lost heart and in the 4th moon of the 3rd year of Kwang Hsu (April 1877) he went to Korla and ended his last days by taking poison. His son Khairullah, while accompanying his father's corpse to Kashgar, was assassinated by Kuli Beg, his elder brother, on the way to Kuchar. Kuli Beg, however, carried his dead father to that city, and after giving him a proper burial, he proclaimed himself Ruler of Kashgar. Pei Nienfu was sent to defend Korla.

In the 10th moon of this year (October 1877), Karashahr, Kuchar, and Ma'amour fell into the hands of General Liu Ching-tang's army. Even at so difficult a time, there appeared among the local Begg of Khotan and Yarkand conflicts of selfish interests. M. Niaz, the Beg of Khotan, in the name of the Emperor marched with his soldiers to Yarkand with intention to enlarge his own territory. But he was badly beaten back by Kuli Beg who in turn ran over Khotan.

Meanwhile fighting broke out between the two cities:



the Muslim and the Chinese cities of Kashgar. Ho Pu-yung, the Chinese garrison officer of the new city, attacked Ali Tash of the Old City. This unfavorable news compelled Kuli Beg to leave Khotan and hasten to Kashgar.

A month later General Liu Ching-tang's army advanced from three directions: from Uch-Turfan toward Burut, from Aksu toward Kashgar and from Maralbashi to cut off enforcements between Khotan and Yarkand. Day by day the main Manchu Imperial army moved closer and closer toward Kashgar where the defense became weak and soldiers already lost fighting spirit. The Commander of the defense of the city, Pei Nienfu at last decided to leave the city, and with a few soldiers he crossed the frontier to Russia. Thus on the 13th day of 11th moon of the 3rd year of Kwang Hsu, Kashgar fell and within a few weeks, Yarkand and Khotan and Yangihisar followed. The wife of Yakoub Beg, his three sons and three grandsons were arrested and put to the sword, and with them 1,166 persons in connection with the Rebellion were executed.<sup>1</sup>

Thus with the execution of the members of his family in the end of the year 1877, the episode of Yakoub Beg, the Atalik Ghazi who ruled Kashgaria for 13 years, came to an end.

1. Bales. op. cit., p. 375.



(v) Muslim Revolt in Yunnan (1818-1873)

Muslim spread to Yunnan during the Yuan dynasty (1277-1367) when Sayyid Edjell was entrusted by Sze-chu (Kublai Khan 1271-1294) with the governorship of Yunnan. With him went many Muslim soldiers to Yunnan. After having subdued that province, he established schools and religious institutions, together with secular education among the people. The mosque now standing at Yangpi and that inside the south-gate of Yunnanfu were Islamic Monuments attributed to his time. Thus it is logical to assume that the Muslim soldiers who went with him in his campaign had in later days settled in some parts of the province, and at the same time, Sayyid Edjell's own children had also made some places of the province their homes. Their children and the children of soldiers diffused through marriage with Chinese women in the locality and spread in the course of time into all big cities of the province, such as Talifu, Mongtze and Yunnanfu, the provincial capital.

In 1818 Muslim rebellion first broke out in Yunnan, in consequence of a lawsuit between two leading families in Yungchang, as well as the destruction of a mosque in that city.<sup>1</sup> The Imperial troops were defeated and Yunnanfu besieged, but fresh Imperial forces subdued the Muslims and killed their leaders. This victory of the Manchu army stopped the rebellion for only the time being.

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1. Broomhall. op. cit., p. 129.



During the years 1826-1828 further disorders arose and from 1834 to 1840 a serious rebellion raged. This trouble was provoked by the officials of Shunningfu who massacred sixteen hundred Muslim men, women and children at Mengmenting.<sup>1</sup> The Muslims retaliated with terrible effect. The affair was afterward referred to Peking and called forth an imperial edict from the Emperor Hsien Feng, calling for tolerance of both sides, which cooled down the trouble for a period of 27 years, until 1855, when rebellion broke out in Yunnanfu for the third time, lasting right on till 1873. This was the greatest and most awful upheaval of Chinese Muslims against the Manchu authority. The full account is given by M. Rocher, a French writer, in his monumental work entitled "La Province Chinoise du Yunnan." M. Rocher who was in the employ of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs, was in the province during the rebellion and visited the leading actors and the most important scenes of this terrible tragedy. The second part of his book was mainly devoted to a graphic account of these 18 years.

The original quarrel according to him and to another writer<sup>2</sup> arose through a dispute between Muslim and Chinese miners working in the silver and lead mines of Shih-Yang-Chang, in Tsu-Yang district, the valuable deposits of which had drawn together some two thousand workmen.<sup>3</sup> The Muslims, though a minority, were the most successful, and were attacked. During

1. Ibid.

2. Rocher. *La Province Chinoise du Yunnan*, vol. II, p. 29-30; and Fu Thong-hsien, op. cit., pp. 147-150.

3. Broomhall. op. cit., p. 130.



the early days of the strife, they held more than their own, but being at last attacked by an overwhelming force, they were compelled to seek refuge in the neighboring woods. Many, however, had been killed in the fight and those fallen into the hands of the Chinese were massacred. Among the slain was Ma Hsu-cheng, the brother of Ma Hsien, a military man who subsequently became one of the most prominent Muslim leaders. The Viceroy wished to settle the difference between the two parties, but the evil influence of Huang Chung, former Vice-President of the Board of War, who entertained a fierce hatred of all Muslims, won over the Governor of the Province to his policy of a General Muslim massacre.<sup>1</sup> The Viceroy, over-powered by the Governor, the Provincial Treasurer and Provincial Judge, all committed suicide by way of protest, and thus unfortunately left power in the hands of Huang.<sup>2</sup>

May 19, 1856, was fixed upon for this Muslim St. Bartholomew's Day, and secret orders were sent to the various officials throughout the province. The news, however, came to the ears of the Muslims and after the first massacre of some three hundred Muslim families at the small market town of Ningchow, where not only were the people killed, but their homes and mosques burned, the Muslims arose as one man to avenge and defend themselves. An old Imam of Talifu, named Ma Teh-hsing who was greatly respected by his co-religionists, was appointed as Muslim leader.

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1. Broomhall. op. cit., p. 130.

2. Ibid., p. 130.



Being an old man he appointed one of his nephews, named Ma Hsien (later known as Ma Ju-lung), who was a military graduate and a man of considerable energy, to assist him in all military services. Even now a peaceful settlement might have been possible but for the sudden massacre of some hundred Muslim families in Yunnanfu, together with a number of Muslim graduates who were present in the capital for the examination.<sup>1</sup>

The slaughter which followed was truly terrible. The Chinese, though in greater number, became paralyzed with fear in the presence of the energy and fierce wrath of their enemies. The whole province now entered in earnest into a deadly civil strife.

The conflict soon assumed the following situation: With the old Imam, Ma Teh-hsing, as supreme leader of the Muslims, Ma Hsien made Kwanyi his center of operations, Kwanyi is a small town south of the capital, and about thirty miles north of Linanfu, and is of great importance. In the west, Tu Wen-siu (Sultan Sulaiman), a man of remarkable energy and great reputation, captured Talifu, where he was joined by many of the aborigines who were only too ready to avenge themselves upon the Chinese for wrongs they had received in the past. In his desire to secure Muslim recruits from Tibet, Tu Wen-siu issued a proclamation which was prefaced with a quotation from the Quran, and announced the overthrow of the Manchu rule, and the erection of a kingdom of the 'true believers' in Yunnan, with Talifu as its capital. This document was said to be in

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1. Ibid., p. 131.



good Arabic. The seal which he used in issuing orders as the C-in-C of the Muslim Army, was inscribed in two languages, Arabic and Chinese.

Here we have to point out that, in following the different stages of this conflict, it is necessary to remember that the Manchu Imperial Government at Peking was at the same time occupied with the Taiping Rebellion; with Great Britain's second Opium War, leading up to the occupation of Peking by the Allies; and was upon the verge of Yakoub Beg's rebellion in Sinkiang. Distracted by these almost overwhelming catastrophes on every hand, the Central authorities could do little to aid the most distant province of the Empire, and consequently full power was left to the local officials.

In the east Ma Hsien was able to capture a number of cities, and in the west Tu Wen-siu brought other cities under his control, and in Talifu he assumed the title of Yuan-Shuai (Generalissimo and "the leader of all the people.")

Meanwhile, Yunnanfu, the Provincial capital, was under vigorous siege by the Muslim Army under Ma Teh-hsing, and with the terrible sight of increasing refugees in the street, the Imperial forces opened negotiations with Ma Hsien. Huang Chung, the originator of the Muslim St. Bartholomew's, committed suicide.

The issues were momentous. A crisis of the greatest importance had certainly arrived. But Ma Teh-hsing and Ma Hsien, either knowing that their success could not be permanent or only desiring peace and security for the followers of Islam, did not seek revenge. The Imperial C-in-C, finding his enemies



open to negotiations, followed a not uncommon custom in China of offering the leaders, with their subordinate officers, official ranks and honors if they would come over to the Imperial side. The Old Imam Ma Teh Hsing refused all rank, but accepted a monthly pension of two hundred teals, while Ma Hsien was appointed Brigadier-General to the Imperial troops, with adequate rank to his subordinate officers. To the honor of Ma Hsien, and in contrast to the subsequent policy of the Imperial party, the Muslims kept their compact and the capital was entered in November 1860 without any act of violence by the victorious troops.<sup>1</sup> Ma Hsien now changed his name to Ma Ju-lung, and in this guise he was presented to Peking as savior of the city and not the notorious rebel leader.

It was a master stroke of Chinese diplomacy which split the Muslim ranks into two hostile groups, the group of Ma Ju-lung in Yunnanfu and the group of Tu Wen Siu in Talifu, and caused the final downfall of all the Muslim leaders. From now instead of fighting the Manchu Imperial troops with one heart and one spirit, the Muslim leaders led their troops against one another.

Tu Wen Siu in the west of Yunnan regarded the Old Imam, Ma Teh-hsing and Ma Ju-lung (as he would be called now) as traitors to the cause of Islam. He was not reconciled with Ma Teh-hsing and Ma Ju-lung till his last day.

Now there were many changes in the Provincial Government. Ma Ju-lung became virtually the chief of the Imperial forces

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1. Broomhall. *op. cit.*, p. 135.



and could practically make any change of offices. He appointed Tsen Yu-ying (岑毓英) as the Provincial treasurer. This man later obtained the governorship of the province and was a bitter enemy of Muslims.

In 1867 the Governor died and thus Tsen Yu-ying became acting -Governor. During the years 1868-69 Yunnanfu was subjected to terrible siege and Tu Wen Siu could have taken over the city if he had conducted the operation in person. But he left this great task to Ta Si-jung, a weak character whose troops were pushed back and pursued by four divisions of the Imperial army under four able leaders, they were Yang Yu-ko, Li Sin-ku, Ma Ju-lung and Tsen Yu-ying, the Governor. City after city fell, sometimes only after a long resistance. It became a rule without exception whenever and wherever the Governor Tsen made his appearance, his policy was one of heartless and wholesale slaughter. M. Rocher related at the fall of the city of Chenghsiang: "Thousands of Mohammedan women committed suicide by throwing themselves and their children down the wells, while some five thousand women who refrained from self-slaughter, suffered all the violence of the soldiers." The whole city was given to loot and massacre. There is no need to pursue in detail the sickening tale of bloodshed as city after city fell.<sup>2</sup>

In 1871 Tu Wen Siu, perceiving that the campaign was going against him, sent his son Hasan to England via Burma to

1. Broomhall. op. cit., p. 137.

2. Ibid., 140.



ask for aid. From London he visited Constantinople. Being disappointed in all his hopes, Hasan returned to find Talifu fallen and his father no more.

In 1872 Talifu was under strong siege. Inside Talifu itself counsel was divided. One party argued for resistance to the utmost, but the other party, who had already received promises from the Governor Tsen that only the head of Tu Wen Siu and a money ransom would be demanded, succeeded in carrying the day, and in token of their surrender the seal of Tu Wen Siu was handed over to Yang Yu-ko, a Division Commander of the Imperial troops.

Tu Wen Siu, who had been Sultan of half of Yunnan for 16 years now found himself deserted. Willing to surrender his life if he could spare his people, he poisoned his three wives and five daughters, dressed himself in his best robes, and set forth on January 15, 1873, in his yellow sedan-chair, such as Emperors alone are allowed to use. Before entering the audience hall, he swallowed a ball of opium and some say, gold leaf also. He, when ushered into the presence of the Imperial Commander, "begged a cup of water," which being given, he said: "I have nothing to ask, but this, 'Don't shed too much of people's blood.'"<sup>1</sup> He drank the water and died and his head was sent to Peking.

Following the narratives of M. Rocher as summarized by Broomhall, "The city gates of Talifu had been closed to prevent the escape of the population, and three or four Chinese soldiers

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1. Broomhall. op. cit., p. 142.



had been quartered with each Muslim family. The Governor, Tsen, under pretext of celebrating the capitulation by a feast, invited all the Muslim leaders to attend a State banquet. As these men were entering the banquet hall, they were set upon and beheaded, after which, at a preconcerted signal, the firing of six guns, the general massacre in the city commenced. The scenes that followed were indescribably - in every house the soldiers slew those who were giving them hospitality. . . . Of fifty thousand persons found within the city," stated M. Rocher, "Some thirty thousand perished . . . The Governor glorying in his success sent twenty-four baskets containing ten thousand pairs of human ears, with the heads of seventeen leaders to the Capital as proof of his victory."<sup>1</sup>

This marked the end of the terrible episode of the Muslim Rebellion in Yunnan.

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 143.



### III. MUSLIM MINORITY SINCE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHINESE REPUBLIC

#### (1) General Conditions of the Chinese Mussulman

Under this heading we shall look into the distribution of the Muslim population in China, their economic conditions, religious, educational and semi-political organizations.

##### 1. Muslim Population and Economic Conditions:

On the question of the Muslim population, opinions differ widely. Marshall Broomhall in 1910 put the maximum figure at 9,821,000, including those in Sinkiang.<sup>1</sup>

Before him a Chinese Muslim leader Abdul Rahman stated in Cairo in 1906 that the Muslim population in the whole of China at that time was 34,000,000. Mr. A. H. Keane in his standard work Asia gave 30,000,000 as the probably figure; M. de Thiersant, for many years French Consul-General in China who devoted eighteen years to his investigation on the Muslims of China, gave the number in 1898 as 20,000,000 and another French writer in an article in the Revue du Monde Mussulman, for January 1907 thinks 15,000,000 more approximate.<sup>2</sup>

But the English version of the Chinese Year Book, 1940, of the Commercial Press, Shanghai, and the Chinese Year Book, 1948, published by the Chinese Government (Chungking) put the

1. Broomhall. op. cit., p. 215.

2. Ibid., p. 194.



total figure of the Muslim population at 48,104,000 with a total number of 42,371 mosques. The Chinese Year Book though did not mention how it got to this figure, yet it became a common notion that the population of Muslims in China is around 50,000,000. This figure represents one-ninth of the whole Chinese population, which had an official estimate of 460,000,000 in 1948.

The majority of the Muslim population, no doubt, live in the northwest provinces, that is Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang; in Yunnan, Honan, Hopenh, Shantung, and in other provinces they are in a very small minority. According to this Chinese officially accepted figure, the distribution of the Muslims in China is as follows:

Provinces	No. of Mosques	Muslim Population
Sinkiang	2045	2,350,950
Kansu	3891	3,510,920
Ninghsia	655	753,400
Chinghai	1031	1,186,590
N. Eastern Provinces	6570	7,533,680
Jehol	241	278,950
Suiyuan	253	384,620
Chahar	175	195,050
Hopenh	2942	3,379,410
Honan	2703	3,094,800
Shensi	3616	4,129,090
Shansi	1931	1,589,570
Shangtung	2513	2,890,430
Yunnan	3971	4,568,290
Kweichow	449	519,160
Szechuan	2275	2,615,330
Kwangsi	429	280,180
Kwangtung	201	558,450
Hunan	932	1,302,900
Hupeh	1134	1,587,080
Kiangsi	205	286,590
Chekiang	239	357,300
Anhui	1515	2,288,580
Kiangsu	1302	1,963,170



Provinces	No. of Mosques	Muslim Population
Fukien	157	471,570
	42,371	48,104,240 <sup>1</sup>

Though the Muslims in China have a supposed one-ninth numerical strength among the Chinese population, yet the majority of them are ignorant and illiterate. With a high percentage of illiteracy they can not hope to occupy a good position in the Chinese economic life. Their merchants are of a very small number and the majority of them have been carrying on business in some special line, dealing in jade-work, antiques, and curios. In this line they have occupied a prominent place in Shanghai, Peking and Nanking and Sian. Before the Communist regime, the antique shops along the Mingkuo Road, and the Jade Guild at Khoi Kiapen, Shanghai; the Jade market at Tsung Tung and the curio shops at Kienmen, Langfan and Totyau, Peking;<sup>2</sup> and the antique shops around the Confucian Temple, Nanking, almost all belonged to Muslims. They had their guilds or associations in these big cities. In Sian, the capital of the Tang dynasty, the Muslims had a special market in Jade-work, antiques and curio business, from which Professor Berthold Laufer, the author of Sino-Iranica bought some fine pieces. There was a saying in China that "Jade specialists are Muslims." At present they have their antique and jade shops in Hongkong

1. The Chinese Year Book, Chungking, 1948, p. 53 and also Fu Thong-hsien, op. cit., pp. 167-168.

2. Tsungtung (紫東) Khoi Kiapen (侯家浜) Kienmen (前門) Langfan (廊房) and Totyau (駁條).



and Taipei. Even in New York on Madison Avenue, there are two small but well arranged Porcelain and Jade-ware shops the owners of which are Chinese Muslims.<sup>1</sup>

The other special line of the Muslim trade in China is the beef and Mutton market. It is natural that they have occupied this business. Being Muslims, they have to use beef and mutton in their daily living. They cannot rely on others for this daily necessity. Non-Muslims do not compete with them in this line, simply because beef and mutton are not favored by them. They prefer pork and can leave the beef and mutton in the hands of the Muslims anywhere in China.

Moreover, sheep and lambs are the products of the northwest provinces where the majority of Muslims still live in their nomadic tradition in sheep-breeding and cattle-rearing and the pastures in Sinkiang, Mongolia, Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai and the Tibetan borders provide them with better breeding opportunities. There is a popular saying, especially among the Muslims of the northwest China, which runs in this way:

Our sky, our sand;  
With flocks, we are happy in our land!

In connection with cattle breeding some related business developed, for example, wool, fur and carpets. In normal times, Muslims have had the monopoly in these occupations, but due to political oppression and other reasons, they have been deprived of the sole right in these trades. They may still be allowed

1. Ming's Little Shop and F. H. Hoo, 1047 & 740 Madison Avenue.



to supply raw materials, but most of the finished goods went into the hands of the organized Chinese companies or Government agencies. They export them in exchange for foreign commodities.

Besides these trades, they seem to have a fair share in restaurant business and their beef and mutton dishes earned them a reputation in Peking and Nanking.

In other parts of China where cattle-breeding is not possible, they are engaged generally in agriculture and small trades. In Yunnan the 'brick-tea' trade was monopoly in the hands of the Muslim traders who travelled between Tibet, Burma and Yunnan. This special tea-leaf is used by the Tibetans as a substitute for green vegetables which are rare in Tibet.

In the regions inhabited by Muslims there exist rich mines of different kinds from gold to coal, and other economic resources, but because of the lack of necessary education and specialised knowledge, they have neither industrial organizations to plan a program, nor organized companies to direct operations nor technical personnel to carry out the work. Thus they usually leave these valuable and important economic fields to the most skilled Chinese. Moreover, they know by experience that big industrial development in their region would attract sharp competition from Chinese business men. This competition in turn would endanger the life of the whole Muslim community. The Yunnan Muslim rebellion caused by the Muslim-Chinese disputes over the mining industry in Shih-Yangchang, Yunnan, bears eloquent testimony on this point. Muslims in China are hard working and frugal people. They have neither ambition nor the capital to compete with Chinese or American educated



industrialists with well organized companies, backed by Government or foreign banks. They are content with their modest trade in any city with which they can earn a modest living among the city and suburban communities. They are willing toilers on land in rural areas.

## 2. Organizations:

The growth of the Muslim population and the spread of their members into every corner of China was in most cases due to migration in pursuit of profession, trade and other means of livelihood, with the exception of a few cases in Kansu and Sinkiang, where migration sometimes took place as a consequence of political upheaval and official actions such as in the Ili Valley in the 18th century<sup>1</sup> and those to Pingliang in the second half of the 19th century.<sup>2</sup>

Where ever the Muslims went, they would establish a certain business in a special locality. They were a few at the beginning, but in the course of time, their friends or relatives would come to join them and their number gradually grew and with the growth of their number, they began to think to erect a mosque as their religious center. In this way mosques sprang up where Muslims had an established life. The local mosque was not an organized society; therefore, it had no planned program, except regular prayers under the guidance of a certain Ahong who might have one or two assistants to look after the place. If the local Muslims became rich, they might engage some one to teach religious lessons in one of the rooms in the

1. Supra p. 38.

2. Supra p. 57.



mosque building. It was purely religious in character, without any relation to the outside communities. The existence of most of the village mosques was isolated by the distance of location and difficulties of communications. Such was the mosque in the past.

But with the establishment of the Republic of China in 1912, circumstances compelled Muslim intellectuals to think over the question with regard to organizing the Muslim community life in a more appropriate way, so that they may maintain their existence in the changing circumstances and have opportunities to join the caravan of modern progress.

For this purpose, the mosque life was reoriented. More activities, such as secular education, social meetings, and consultation for religious defense were added. The last item has been necessitated because, Chinese writers often attack Muslims and their religion and sometimes missionaries came to visit them and to argue with them.

Beside the orientation of the mosque organization, they established separate associations, some social, some educational and some semi-political. Below are a few of these associations which have done some useful work for the Muslim community in particular and for the country in general.

(a) Muslim Organizations of Social and Educational Character.

(1) The Muslim Progressive Society of China, established in 1912 by a Peking Muslim leader called Wang Hao-zan, who visited Turkey, Egypt and other Muslim countries. On his return to China, when he saw the backward condition of the



Chinese Muslims and at the same time felt that the change from monarchy to a Republic regime in China imposed a new sense on the Muslims; he sponsored the foundation of the Muslim Progressive Society for the sole purpose of uniting the Muslims in all parts of China into a coordinated body with a center at Peking, directing a program for the spread of secular education with private Muslim funds for Muslim children.<sup>1</sup> He had the support of many well known Muslim intellectuals of the time, some of whom are still alive and still playing an important part in Muslim religious and secular education.

Mr. Wang's program was warmly received by the Muslim public in all the cities where Muslims were of considerable number. As a result of this movement, in every mosque there was a new school for secular education under the supervision of the Directorate of Education, of the local provincial or city government. Besides, in some cities with well-to-do Muslims, separate high and middle schools were established, giving the same educational program as in Government schools. This society at the beginning was purely educational and had no relation to politics,<sup>2</sup> but later on, when some sort of semi-political organizations came into being, they traced their origin to this society which, no doubt, exercised considerable influence on other Muslim organizations appearing later.

(2) The Muslim Literary Society of China

1. Fu Thong-hsien, op. cit., pp. 199-200.

2. Lyman Hoover Jr. "Chinese Muslims Are Tough" in Asia and America, (AAA), Dec. 1938, p. 721.



This society was founded on 28 June 1925 by Haj Hilaluddin Ha Teh-cheng (died in 1948 at Chungking), a well-known Chinese Muslim scholar who had studied in Egypt, and visited Istanbul and India. It had the following objectives:

(a) Interpretation of Islamic texts; (b) Promotion of Muslim education; (c) Creating friendly relations between Chinese Muslims and foreign Muslims visiting China, and (d) Promoting social welfare work among Muslim communities without taking any activity in politics.

This society planned the following working program:

(a) Translation of the Holy Quran; (b) Publication of a Muslim Literary Monthly; (c) Propagation of Islamic principles along non-Muslim communities; (d) Establishment of Muslim Normal schools and modernization of Muslim elementary schools; (e) Establishment of libraries and opening Reading Rooms; (f) Opening a Muslim Students Center in Shanghai for the welfare, especially, for those who come from other provinces for study in Shanghai universities; (g) Creating scholarships and helping promising students to complete higher studies; and (h) Opening evening classes for Arabic and Islamic studies.

This was the best Muslim Literary Society in the 1930's. Afterward the Chinese Muslim literary, educational and religious activities were shifted to Peking.<sup>1</sup>

From 1925 to 1940 a number of educational centers sprang up among the Chinese Muslim communities. The best known was the Cheng-Tah Normal School, Peiping. Then the Islamic

1. Fu Thong-hsien. *op. cit.*, p. 202.



School of Shanghai (founded in 1929) and the Ten-Hwa Secondary School, Shanghai,<sup>1</sup> the Northwest Muslim School, Peking (founded in 1928), the Moshin College, Hangchow (1928), the Yunting Normal School, Ninghsia (1932), the Crescent Girls School, Peking (1935).<sup>2</sup>

The Cheng-Tah Normal School has a longer history, wielding considerable influence, since its foundation up till now, and is still in operation as a branch of Muslim Minorities Institute, Peking.

The Cheng-Tah Normal School was founded in 1925 at Tsinan Shantung, by a group of Muslim leaders and educators. The moving spirit was Abdul Rahman Ma Sung-ting. The school moved to Peiping in 1929, occupying a big building behind the Tung szepailu Mosque - a monument built in the Yuan dynasty. Its curriculum included the following subjects:

1. General Courses: Chinese Literature, Mathematics, History, Geography and Physics.
2. Islamic Studies: The Study of Quran and its Commentaries, the Prophet's Traditions, Philosophy of Monotheism in Islam, Islamic Law, Arabic Literature, History of Islam and Islamic Literature.
3. Science of Education: Educational Theory, Educational Administration, History of Education, Ethics and Educational Psychology.
4. Social and Political Science: Political Organization, Party Principles (the Three Principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen), and

1. This school became the best Muslim School in Shanghai.

2. Fu Theng-hsien. *op. cit.*, pp. 210-213.



the Principles of Political Economy.<sup>1</sup>

This school had two presses: one Chinese and the other Arabic, for printing books and magazines to be used by the school and other Muslim educational institutions. It has the best library in China for Islamic Studies, named Fuad Memorial Library, because the largest portion of the books was presented by King Fuad and the Azhar University of Cairo. It was to this school that Azhar sent two Professors to teach in 1935-37. Among the 29 students who studied in Cairo between 1934 and 1940, 13 were sent from this school. Most graduates of the Cheng-tah Normal School were sent to work in the Northwest provinces of China, and Muslim educational programs in those provinces before the Japanese occupation were almost under the direction of the Chang-Tah graduates. The Cheng-Tah Normal School, however, had to move in 1937 from Peiping to Kweilin, with all its staff and students, leaving its huge building and well equipped library and presses behind. It was a purely private institution supported by funds collected from Muslim individuals, but in July, 1941, the National Government at Chungking, seeing its usefulness, willingly offered subsidies and granted patronage on its educational program. Thus it, in the Chinese Muslims words, became 'nationalized' by the Government in 1941.

This school returned to Peiping after V.J. Day and assumed its activities with fresh vigor. But, with the Communist regime coming to power in 1949, the school with its

1. Ibid., p. 210.



staff and facilities was forced to remain in Peiping, since the National Government failed to help it to move out. Now it became a part of the Chinese Muslim National Institute, the highest site of Muslim learning in Communist China, no doubt under the Communist political supervision. It seems that the Communist regime is going to utilize this institution to attract friendship of the Muslim countries in the Middle and Near East. Abdul Rahman Ma Sung-ting, one of its principal founders, who escaped out of the Communist China at the beginning of 1950, made a visit to Cairo in August 1950, hoping to find sympathy in Egypt for getting his institution out of Peiping.<sup>1</sup> Egypt was too busy in that year and he went back to Hongkong, travelling between Hongkong and Taipei, still hoping to find assistance. The National Government became too poor to help him, and the Muslim refugees in Hongkong could do no better. Thus after one year's wavering, he went to Peking again, to work in his own school and to share the same fate of his coreligionists in Peking.

(b) Semi-Political Organizations:

Turning to the semi-political organizations which had been established by the Muslims, one can trace their origin to the foundation of the Muslim Progressive Society in 1912. Because of its countrywide character it was followed by all local bodies established in subsequent years in China. By 1923 it had 3,000 branches.

As the Muslim Progressive Society was a pure Chinese

1. I was in Egypt in the same year and met Mr. Ma there.



Muslim organization, without Government sponsorship or supervision, its growing influence was feared by the Government, and in order to minimize its importance and diminish its many-fold activities, the Government sponsored the establishment of a Chinese Muslim League in October 1929, with its Headquarters at Shanghai.<sup>1</sup> The Directing Council of this League consisted of the following influential personalities: Ha Shao-fu, Ma Yi-tang, Shah Shan-yu, Wu Te-kong, Sun Yan-yi and Ta Puh-sen, with declared policies on the following lines:

1. Uniting the Muslims who reside in all parts of the country and have no means to come to contact with or to know each other; promoting friendly relations and achieving co-operation among them for their common welfare.

2. Formation of Muslim United Front to support the cause of the National Revolution which was started by Dr. Sun Yat-sen and left uncompleted, and to assist in the National Reconstruction program. A working program was adopted as follows:

(a) Providing facilities for educating a better class of Muslim religious leaders who can lead people according to the best tradition of the Islamic principles and ethics.

(b) Extension of educational activities, with emphasis on national and civic education, with special reference to civil duties and rights.

(c) Promoting vocational education among the Muslim population, in order to increase the facilities for their livelihood.

<sup>1</sup> Hoover "...Muslims... Tough," AAA, Dec. 1938, pp.



(d) Establishing clinics, libraries, and other social and cultural centers for the welfare of the Muslims in general.

This working program did not come into full realization because of lack of funds. The Muslims themselves could not afford to carry on the program and the Government did not grant enough financial support. It did not produce the results the promoters wished.<sup>1</sup>

#### The All-China Muslim Federation

In 1938, as the Japanese advance pressed southward, the Muslim representatives gathered at Hankow and in April, at a mass meeting, an All-China Muslim National Salvation Federation was founded. From the inception it received direct support of the Government and within a brief period, it became most influential and largely supplanted all previously established Muslim organizations. This Federation was the creation of the timely need with the primary objective to counter-balance the Japanese-sponsored all-China Muslim League which had been established only a few months ago at Peiping<sup>2</sup> the Chairmanship was entrusted to General Omar Pai Chung-hsi, concurrently Minister of Defense in the Central Government. This federation made tremendous efforts to improve the conditions, (strengthen the loyalty) of the Muslims in China, and at the same time it created goodwill between China and the Islamic World. During the war it had combated Japanese propoganda both in China and abroad. The activities of this Federation will be dealt with at some length in the third section of this chapter.

1. Fu Thong-hsien. *op. cit.*, p. 200.

2. A. Parey, "Japan Courts Allah," AAA, March 1942,



(ii) Muslim Struggle In Sinkiang

1. Political events in Sinkiang at the time of the Birth of the Republic of China.

On page 41 I have described the arrangement of the political administration by the Manchu Imperial authorities in South Sinkiang, with special reference to the "Beg-System," used to control the Muslim population through the appointment of a Muslim Chief as 'Azam Beg' in important cities. When all Sinkiang including Kashgaria and Zungaria was made a single province of the Manchu Empire in 1882, the system of appointing 'Bega' in Muslim cities was abolished, with the exception of Hami which retained a 'Beg' who was called by the Chinese 'Hami-Wang' (Shah of Hami).<sup>1</sup> During the later years of the Manchu Imperial rule, the Muslim population, feeling the oppressive and unjust measures imposed upon them by Maqsoud, Shah of Hami, asked the Imperial Government to allow them to have the choice of appealing to the Chinese Civil Administrator in matters concerning their vital interests. At the time Yang Chin-shin, who was the Political Commissioner with his headquarters at Aksu, went to Hami and advised the Shah to stop his unjust measures of which the people complained. His timely advice prevented the out-break of a popular disturbance against the Beg.

But a few months later eight Muslim leaders of that area

1. Fu Thong-hsien. *op. cit.*, p. 172.



were arrested and executed by the Military Commander of Sinkiang on the charge that they had participated in a conspiracy to overthrow the Beg of Hami. This execution naturally caused much discontent among the population. During an investigation a political officer named Yi Shen-fu who was sent there to find out the cause of the new trouble, arrested more Muslims and had them punished.

All these highhanded policies and unjust actions taken by both the Shah and the political officer in the country, caused deep resentment in hearts of the Muslim population who rose up in the first year of the Republic against the political officer Yi and killed him at Nan Shan-ko in retaliation. Meanwhile they elected Mr. Timour, a Turkish Muslim chief as their leader, who was later on joined by Khoja Niaz, another influential chief. When the Chinese Commander Yuan came with his force, the Muslim rebels consolidated their position in the nearby hills and fought Yuan's army with great courage and forced them to retreat.

Next year when Yang Chin-shin became Governor-General of Sinkiang, many of his advisers, including the Shah of Hami, insisted on taking strong military action against the rebels. But Yang wished to settle this disturbance by negotiation. Upon this decision he sent a letter in the native language (Uighuri) to Timour, in which he stated: "I understand that your attitude is against the Beg of Hami, not against the authority of the Government. If such is the case, you can come to me without any fear. I assure your safety and you will be



Following this letter, Yang sent one of the Chinese Muslim officers, who held the rank of a Brigadier in the Chinese army, to see Timour. This officer took with him a copy of Quran, upon which the Brigadier swore before Timour that he and all his men would be well treated if he desisted from remaining in opposition to the Governor's authority. Timour was asked to disband or to hand over his army to the provincial authority.

After a long negotiation Timour yielded and handed over his army to the Governor, after being assured that they would receive no illtreatment. He himself asked permission to go to Russia, which was granted. Here the Governor Yang Chin-shin got the first Hami trouble settled in a dignified way.

## 2. The Hami Affair

From the beginning of the Ching Dynasty till the Republic of China, we know that troubles in Sinkiang had successive waves surging one after another. The present settlement of Hami affairs was not lasting. One had to expect fresh troubles due to political or other causes. It is against this background that there came in the 29th year of the Chinese Republic the second phase of the Hami trouble.

In the winter of 1930, a formidable outbreak which started in Hami, appeared in the East of Sinkiang, and later on spread to Kashgar in the further west of the Chinese territory, with far reaching consequences for the whole province.

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1. Fu Thong-hsien, *op. cit.*, p. 172.



The story began with Shakir, who inherited his father's Maqsoud's position after his death, as the Beg of Hami (Hami-Wang). He was a weak man, whose rule was directly against the wishes of the people. The bitter memory which the people entertained against his father was aggravated by his own foolish conduct. This Shakir, being afraid of the people's concealed resentment, requested the help of the Governor-General Ching Shuh-zen, who obtained his office and position by doing away with Yang Chin-shin in 1928 and got his position confirmed by Nanking.

Ching, the new Governor-General, was a shrewd opportunist. He was the type of Chinese who knew only power. He hated Muslims and did not want any Muslim authority remaining within Sinkiang. Thus, taking the advantage of Shakir's weakness and his selfish request, Governor Ching took certain steps which surprised the Beg himself as well as the people of Hami. Ching ordered this age-long established princely state to be dissolved, and its territory divided into three administrative units under the names of 'Ni-ho,' 'Yi-wu' and 'Hami,' having only district status, and henceforth to be subject to the direct control of the Governor-General who was to be represented in each of them, by a political administrator assisted by the Chief of Security Forces.

For the purpose of re-arranging this administrative setting, officers were sent to take over and in the process of changing the feudal state into three administrative districts, landed properties belonging to the Muslim ruling Prince, Nobles and land-owners as well as other cultivable lands, were



re-assessed, and put on a new basis for distribution. Muslim land-owners who wished to live cultivators' life, were allowed to retain their own lands for cultivation by themselves, while those who did not wish to remain cultivators were not allowed to retain landed properties. Their lands were taken by the political administrator in the name of the Provincial Government, to be redistributed, along with cultivable lands which had not been under any one's possession, to cultivators who were composed of the Moslim peasantry class already settled in the region and of the new Chinese settlers who sought to make their fortune in the company of Chinese military officers in Sinkiang. This new arrangement naturally incurred displeasure among the Muslim land-owners as a whole, and the Muslim cultivators too were not pleased with the treatment they received at the hands of the Chinese officers. Their main grievances centered on the principle of inequality and official prejudice. Revenue collections were vigorously enforced on Muslim cultivators since the day they received land-cultivation permits, while the Chinese cultivators were exempt from paying land revenue for a period of the two years.<sup>1</sup> Even these grave political and economic grievances would not have kindled the flame of revolt if the Shiao-Puh incident had not happened.

### 3. The Shiao-Puh Incident

On the north of Hami there is a small town called Shiao-Puh. The Chief of the Police Forces stationed there had an eye on the daughter of a Muslim officer called Abdullah and

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1. Fu Thong-hsien: op. cit., p. 174.



attempted to take her by force to be his wife. The girl was the fiance of the son of a Turkish Chief called Yal buz. Abdullah resented his daughter being taken away from him under the threat of force, and Yal buz would not allow his daughter-in-law to go into a non-Muslim's house. They consulted and made a big 'decision.'

On April 4, 1931, Chang, the Chief of the Police, was invited by Abdullah to his house and a rich dinner was served apparently in his honor. It was at this dinner that the Police Chief and his 32 bodyguards were all taken by surprise and no single soul escaped.

The tribesmen in the surrounding villages and hills answered to the call of Abdullah and Yal buz with warm sympathy and flocked to fight the Chinese garrisons with a number of deaths and injuries on both sides. Peace negotiations broke down and the Muslims under the leadership of Khoja Niaz, whom I have mentioned in a previous passage, marched to besiege the city of Hami. Meanwhile, Khoja Niaz sent his man to Ma Chung Yin, a Tungan Muslim leader in Kansu for help.

This Tungan leader was a courageous young man who was just one year over twenty when his support for the Muslim cause in Sinkiang was sought. In May 1931 he went to Hami with a band of 700 men, where he was received as a recognized leader. Hami was strongly defended by the Chinese and in spite of being besieged for several months by the Muslim army, it was not taken. Meanwhile the Chinese changed their command and now the Commander-in-Chief was Shen Shih-tsai, a military Commander who fought the Japanese in Manchuria, and retreated via Mongolia to



Sinkiang. He put up a strong fight with the Muslims and was able to relieve the city, but at a great cost. His able Deputy Liu Chieh-san was killed by Ma Chung-Yin's men.

The Muslims retreated to the mountains and fortified themselves there. Ching Shuh-zen, the Governor-General, seeking the total destruction of the Muslim army, made a secret treaty with Russia which supplied him with 'necessary military equipment.' Even with the Russians' help, the provincial Government could not check the Muslim movement and during the next year (1932) they succeeded one time in taking Shan-shan, and at another time in over-running Turfan, and a third time, in appearing at Urumchi, the provincial Capital was under direct threat.<sup>2</sup>

In all these hit-and-run fights, much harm had been done to the Muslim population in nearly all the cities affected by these local wars. Nevertheless, they bore patiently these temporary losses and injuries with the hope that the Muslim army might gain a final victory, and that their sacrifices were not in vain.

4. Urumchi and the Muslim Republic in Kashgar

These troubles which had been raging in the Turfan and Hami areas during 1931-32 produced immediate reactions in Nanking, Urumchi and Kashgar. Nanking wished peace to be restored in Sinkiang, and in order to reach that objective, it was essential to reform the provincial Government machinery, to

1. Issa Yusuf's Radio Statement in New Delhi. (1950). p. 8. Issa Yusuf was the General-Secretary of the Sinkiang Government from 1947 to 1949, who fled the Communist China to India.

2. Fu Thong-hsien. *op. cit.*, p. 176.



remove the corrupting elements, to compromise the differences between Muslim leaders and the Provincial Government. It was for these multiple purposes that the Central Government at Nanking sent in the Spring of 1933 Mr. Wong Mo-sung, Deputy Chief of Staff, on a fact-finding mission to Sinkiang. On his return to Nanking, he made a report to the Central Government on the situation in Tihwa (Urumchi), and recommended the removal of Ching Shus-zen from his post.

Meanwhile, responsible personalities in Tihwa, after Wong Mo-sung's departure, initiated a plot against Ching. The leader was Shen Shih-tsai, Commander of the defense forces who with other persons succeeded in April, 1933, in driving Ching Shuh-zen out of Urumchi and captured all important posts in their own hands. Mr. Liu Wen-lun was elected as the Chairman of the Provincial Government and Shen retained the post of Defense-Commander. Liu was just a puppet and the real power now was concentrated in Shen's hand. Nanking, finding no better way to deal with the Sinkiang affair, later on confirmed their positions in Urumchi.

Some time later steps were taken toward reconciliation with the Muslim leaders. Mr. Lo Wen-kan, a high official in the National Government, was sent from Nanking to Sinkiang as a mediator. He first stopped at Hami, where he visited Ma Chung-yin, Yalbuz and Khoja Niaz and inspected the ruins caused by the revolt and government military operations. He then proceeded to Tihwa where he had long talks with Governor Liu and Defense-Commander Shen, who accepted his suggestions by making visits to Muslim mosques, Muslim Residence Quarters,



offering them consolation, and assuring them of the Government's good wishes. Niaz was consequently made a Counselor in the new Provincial Government, and Ma Chung-yin was appointed as the Chief of Security Forces in Eastern Sinkiang, to be stationed at Turfan. This arrangement seemed to settle one phase of the revolt.

#### 5. The Muslim Republic in Kashgar

Since the beginning of the disturbances in the Hami area, there was a strong reaction in the southwest of Sinkiang. Timour rose up again in Aksu and Amin occupied Khotan. They coordinated their action and marched toward Kashgar and occupied it. The influential man behind this movement was a popular leader called Sabit Da Mullah (The Great Mullah), who in his young days had visited Mecca, Cairo, and Istanbul and was well-known in the Muslim world. At the time Timour and Amin occupied Kashgar, this Mullah was there. He thought it was the golden opportunity for them to establish a Muslim Republic. Meanwhile Khoja Niaz, who was sent from Urumchi on a conciliatory mission to these Turkish leaders, expressed his willingness to join them.<sup>1</sup> Thus on November 12, 1933 they declared the establishment of the Muslim Republic called "The Muslim Republic of Eastern Turkistan," with an organic law based on Islamic principles and the teaching of the Quran and the traditions of the Holy Prophet.

It would have a President, a Cabinet, a Consultative

1. Khoja Niaz was an 'opportunist,' who seemed to have a kind of Communist leaning. This was confirmed by Haj Ma 'asouni whom I met in Bombay in Jan. 1935; for this reason he could not reconcile with the Tungans in the Kashgar area.



Council and a Shariat Court.

The Cabinet would be composed of one Prime Minister; two Deputy Prime Ministers and Ministers of Interior, Foreign Affairs, Defense, Finance, Education, Health, Agriculture and Industry, and Religious Endowments. These portfolios were actually distributed among the following persons:

- President: Khoja Niaz
- Prime Minister: Sabit Da Mullah
- Interior: Yunus Sadik Beg (from Hami)
- Foreign Affairs: Qassam Jan (from Khotan)
- Defense: Auraz Beg (Kirghiz)
- Education: Abdul Karim Makhdumi (from Kashgar)
- Finance: Ali Akhond (from Kashgar)
- Health: Abdullah Khan (from West Turkistan)
- Religious Endowments: Haj A'alam Akhond (from Kuchar)

The Secretary of the Ministers' Council was Shamsuddin Effendi of Kashgar.

After the formation of the Republic, they sent Dr. Mostafa Effendi as their representative to India to seek recognition of the New Muslim Government established in South Sinkiang. In the early months, while I was still in India, a number of articles appeared in the vernacular press of Muslim India, advocating the recognition by the British Indian Government of this New State. But unfortunately this Republic did not last long. It fell before the Chinese and Russians attack in July, 1934.

The subsequent events which led to the fall of the Muslim Republic in South Sinkiang might be explained in this



Khoja Niaz had a strong hatred for the Tungsans, especially Ma Chung-yin whom he took to be his greatest rival in Sinkiang politics. In Issa Yusuf's words, "Ma Chung Yin wanted to conquer Turkistan for himself." Khoja Niaz had differences with Ma Chung-yin in the Hami affair.<sup>1</sup> Now in the Kashgar area where a Muslim Republic was established under his presidency, there remained a Tungan leader named Ma Chan-tsuan who had been loyal to Nanking. Khoja Niaz, instead of approaching him with a conciliatory attitude, used armed forces with the hope to drive him out of the Chinese city. Ma Chan-tsuan reorganized his forces and defended his city against Khoja Niaz's attack for months.

Meanwhile fierce fighting broke out between Ma Chung-yin and Shen Shih-tsai, who was virtually the ruler of Urumchi now. This was mainly due to the pressure of the Society advisers who were now many in the Sinkiang provincial Government. They saw in Ma Chung-yin a potential enemy, on the supposition that he was aided by Japanese advisers and his arms were obtained from Japan.<sup>2</sup> The extension of his authority toward Kashgar might endanger Urumchi's position, they, therefore, advised Shen to get rid of him at any cost. Thus during the winter of 1933 Ma was attacked in East Sinkiang and a series of push-and-retreat situations had been exchanged between both sides.

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1. Fu Thong-hsien, op. cit., p. 178.

2. Far Eastern Survey, March 10, 1948, p. 61.



But with the beginning of the New Year of 1934, the situation turned in favor of Ma Chung-yin, who pushed northward and on 12 January 1934 appeared before Urumchi and captured the aerodrome and the Radio Station.<sup>1</sup> But he was forced to retreat before the Soviet tanks and military planes which came to Shen's assistance following the signing of a secret treaty between Shen and the Soviet Union,<sup>2</sup> the terms of which were not known. But, according to Mr. Peter Fleming, London Times correspondent who made a journey to Sinkiang in 1935 and published a book entitled News from Tartary, "It is understood that the treaty provided Shen Shih-tsai with a loan of 500,000 roubles in gold and a considerable quantity of ammunitions, and military equipment and some military planes with Russian pilots, in exchange for the absolute right of Russian exploitation of the resources of Sinkiang which included lamb skin, wool, mineral deposits, the employment of a number of Russian advisers in the administration of Sinkiang, and the use of Russian troops for security purposes if necessary."<sup>3</sup>

Before these superior forces, Ma Chung-yin was forced to retreat toward Kashgar, after having lost his battle against the Russian tanks and planes on the Tutung banks, 80 miles north of Urumchi. He was pursued by the Chinese and Russians and captured in Kashgar and sent to Russia at the end of June 1934. The Chinese then swept over other cities such as

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1. Fu Thong-hsien, op. cit., p. 179.

2. P. Fleming, News From Tartary, (London 1936), pp. 250-25

3. Ibid., p. 254.



Yarkand Khotan and captured Khoja Niaz, Sabit Da Mullah and others of the members of the Muslim Republic in Kashgar, who were sent to prison. In 1936 they were executed along with a reported 10,000 people whom Shen Shih-tzai considered as their enemies.<sup>1</sup>

With the disappearance of Ma Chung-yin from the scene and with the execution of Khoja Niaz and Sabit Da Mullah, the Sinkiang struggle was halted but not completely stopped. The last phase of their struggle was between the Communist elements and the Nationalist elements which took the following course.

#### 6. Sinkiang Between the Nationalists and the Communists

During the term of Shen Shih-tzai's Governorship, Sinkiang was virtually under Russian rule. There were Russian troops everywhere and Russian political and military advisors filled up every department. Mr. Issa Yusuf gave a long list of these Russian advisors.<sup>2</sup> Malenkov and Fedin had been chief advisers to the Governor himself. General Rebalkeyn was the military adviser to the Commander of 6th Division at Kashgar; General Dokov was made adviser to the Commanding Officer in the Aksu District; Kadir Haji (of West Turkistan) occupied the post of Superintendent of Police at Kashgar; Hashim Haj (also from West Turkistan) was appointed Superintendent of Police in

1. Issa Yusuf, op. cit., p. 12.

2. In his radio statement in New Delhi (1950) a copy of which (not dated) is in my possession, Issa Yusuf gave the following names: Malenkov, Fedin, Osaichev, Safronov, Kutsov, Kormayev, Rebalkeyn, Dokov, Voravyuv, Resakov, Zakhrov, Marozov, Chernek, and Eavanor. Besides some West Turkistanis were brought as advisers; they were Syed Haji, Hashim Haj, Kadir Haji, Mansur Effendi and Zanun. op. cit., p. 10.



Hami District. There were others who had different functions in the Administration of the provincial Government. All these Russian officers were under the direction of M. Afrisov, Russian Consul-General at Urumchi. He was before his appointment to Urumchi, a Commissioner of Foreign Affairs of Central Asia, who controlled the policy in Sinkiang. During these years Communist ideology was widely spread among the young generation in Sinkiang.

In 1944 the Chinese Central Government, however, was able to dismiss Shen Shih-tsai, and with him nearly all the Russian advisers. In his place Mr. Wu Chung Shin was sent as the Governor. This man had a long association with the Commission for Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs and was a supporter of the policy of high pressure absorption of non-Chinese elements into the Chinese majority advocated by the C.C. Clique of the Kuomintang with the objective of de-nationalizing the non-Chinese people.<sup>1</sup>

It did not take long for the administration in this spirit to generate a revolt. The people of Ili, who had been under strong Communist influence rose under the leadership of Ali Khan, later joined by the inhabitants of Chuguchak and Altai, of course, with Russian support. They drove the Chinese garrisons out of their cities and set up their administrations independent from Urumchi.

As a result of this revolt, Wu Chung-shin was recalled and Chang Chi-chung was appointed in his place in 1945 remaining

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1. Far Eastern Survey, March 10, 1948, p. 59.



there till 1947.

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Chang was of the Political Science Clique, rival of the C.C. Group in the Kuomintang, and during his term of office, conciliatory measures were taken to patch up the differences with the discontented elements in Sinkiang. He seemed to favor an autonomous Government by the Sinkiang people to be tied with the Republic of China in Foreign relations. That is why he said, "If Sinkiang can really achieve independence, I shall be first to approve it, or at least to offer my support when the Central Government discusses this matter."<sup>1</sup> Based on this policy, a Sinkiang semi-autonomous Government was formed. Masoud Sabri, an Uighuri leader, was appointed as the Chairman and Amin Bogra, the Deputy Chairman in 1947, with Issa Yusuf as the Secretary-General of the Sinkiang Provincial Government. These gentlemen were chosen to these high offices because they advocated Muslim rule in Sinkiang. They seemed to have won their goal. But this arrangement did not satisfy the Ili group under the leadership of Ahmed Jan and Burhan, who opposed definitely the Kuomintang domination in Sinkiang<sup>2</sup> and wished to assert their own authority over Urumchi, and naturally on the whole province. There were armed clashes between these two groups until 1949, when the atmosphere definitely turned in favor of the Communist elements whose capture of the Sinkiang Government will be dealt in the 5th section of this chapter.

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1. Chang Chi-chung, "Dilemma in Sinkiang," Pacific Affairs, Dec. 1947, p. 425; and also Ahmed Ali, Muslim China, (Karachi, 1949), p. 45.

2. Ibid., p. 51.



(iii) Muslims and the Government of the Republic of China

1. Muslims: One of the Five Races Forming in the Chinese Nation.

The Republic of China was established in 1912 and with its establishment, the Muslims in China (presumably only those in Sinkiang) were given official recognition as one of the five races of whom the Chinese Nation was composed. These races are the 'Hans' (Chinese), the 'Huis' (Muslims), the Manchus, the Mongolians and the Tibetans. On this basis the original flag of the Republic of China had five colors: Red, Yellow, Blue, White and Black and the white color in the flag represented the Muslim element.

This position was advocated by the founder of the Republic of China, Dr. Sun Yat who in some statements on the National Revolutionary Movement, made the following remarks about the 'Huis' (the Chinese Muslims).

The aim of San-Min-Chu-I was to liberate all the people of China on equal footing. The 'Huis' in the history of China had suffered the most severe oppressions<sup>1</sup> and as their suffering was the greatest, therefore, the spirit of their revolt would become the strongest. It is on this ground that we have from now to call the 'Huis' (the Muslims) to awake to the necessity of participation in the Revolutionary Movement, in order to liberate all the people of China.

Then he went on to explain China's situation under Imperialism, comparing it with the situations of the weak and small countries

1. Here Dr. Sun refers to the sufferings received by the Muslims at the hands of the Manchus.



in Asia, like Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey, Persia and Arabia - all Muslim countries under western domination, and calling for the necessity of close cooperation between these nations and the newly established Republic of China for a general revival of nationhood. Then he drew to the conclusion:

It is difficult to reach the final stage of success without the Chinese Muslims' participation in the Chinese National Revolutionary Movement, as it is equally difficult to throw off Imperialism without the full cooperation of the Muslim Nations.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Sun advocated such a position for the Muslims in the Revolutionary movement, because he fully recognized the martial qualities of the Muslims and the geographical importance of northwest China where the majority of the Muslims reside. Moreover, the urgency demanded a closer unity among the Chinese people and a wider cooperation between the Chinese Nationalists under Dr. Sun Yat-sen's leadership and the oppressed Muslim nations in Asia.

The immediate political urgency in China was that China, following the declaration of the Republic, soon plunged into a long civil war, first between the conservative elements and the revolutionists, then between the forces of the South and the North, prolonged by the struggle of war lords for personal ascendancy. During these long years (1912-1928), the Muslims in China remained loyal to the Chinese national idea and did not take sides with war lords, such as Tsao Kun, Chang Tso-lin, Wu Pei-fu and others but helped in unifying China under the leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, who carried the

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1. Fu Thong-hsien, *op. cit.*, p. 170.



Northern Expedition to a successful unification and established the authority of the Nationalist Government over all China in 1928. In this Northern Expedition, the Muslim General Omar Pai Chung-hsi.

## 2. Muslims in China: a Racial Minority or a Religious Group?

After the unification, the Government of the Republic of China made a departure of principle, by abolishing the Five-color Flag, representing the five racial elements in the Chinese nation. It was replaced by a new national flag with a design of "White Sun in Blue Sky, above Red Ground," representing "Equality, Justice and Democracy; Fraternity, Frankness and Livelihood and Liberty, Sacrifice and Nationalism."

The backward and non-political minded Muslims did not pay much attention to this significant change, but some of their intellectuals felt the necessity of discussing their problems more clearly. Their problems have essentially been only two: One was whether the Muslims in China, including those in Sinkiang, would be politically treated as one of the minority groups in the Republic of China. If the answer is in the affirmative, then on what basis? If in the negative, why? The other problem was the political rights of the Muslims and the basis of their representation.

These two problems are interrelated and without determining the first, the second can hardly arise.

As the Muslims in China had no political organization, struggling for political rights within the frame work of the Constitution of the Republic of China, the discussions of these



vital problems were limited only to academic expression and never became a living political controversy in China. In the academic discussions Professor Ching Chi-tang, the author of Studies on the Muslim History in China, advocated the racial principle of the Muslims in China. His main arguments were based on historical grounds:

(a) The Muslims in Sinkiang are non-Chinese by race. They are of the Kirghiz, Kazaks, Uighuris and other Turkish tribes. Their separate ethnic identity cannot be denied in any way.<sup>1</sup>

(b) Muslims in China Proper, especially those in Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Yunnan and in some other provinces, are of foreign origin, though mixed with Chinese blood through marriage. Their foreign physical characteristics still can be distinguished from those of the native Chinese. In supporting his argument on this point he traced the history of many of the present Chinese Muslim family names to foreign origin. For example, the well-known Muslim families like 'Ma' from 'Ma-hmud'; 'Mo' from 'Mo-barak'; 'Na' from 'Na-siruddin'; 'Hu' from 'Hu-ssin'; 'Ha' from 'Ha-san'; 'Sha' from 'Sha-msuddin' and so on.<sup>2</sup>

On these undeniable historical evidences, Professor Ching Chi-tang advocated that Muslims in China should be treated as a racial entity, having representation based on their numerical strength.

1. Population of Sinkiang according to Far Eastern Survey, March 10, 1948 may be divided into these groups: Uighurs: 2,900,000; Kazaks: 319,000; Chinese: 202,000; Dungans: 92,000; Kirghiz: 65,000; Mongols: 63,000; White Russians: 13,000; Manchus: 12,000; Tajiks: 9,000 and Taranchis: 5,000.

2. Ching Chi-tang, op. cit., pp. 24-42.



On the other hand, the leaders of the All-China Muslim League, the formation of which was mentioned on page 95, took the position that Muslims in China have long been 'sininized' and even those in Sinkiang, who still retain a special racial distinction, should be brought under the Chinese political unity and be identified with the Chinese culture.<sup>1</sup> They therefore, did not see any useful purpose in treating Muslims as a separate racial entity. No doubt, they are a religious group, and as such, they need only the constitutional guarantee and protection for their religion - granting them the freedom of religious belief and worship. This guarantee and protection are expressed in the Constitution of the Chinese Republic, not only with regard to the Muslims alone but also with regards to the followers of other religions in China.

On the religious basis, however, they might demand a favorable treatment in the National Congress. Thus the leaders of the All-China Muslim League soon brought up to the authorities of the Kuomintang the issue of whether Muslims should have direct representation in the Kuomintang National Party Congress. This issue had become more and more urgent and the Government showed signs of compromising by giving the Muslims increased representation in the Tibetan and Mongolian Affairs,<sup>2</sup> by granting more opportunities to Muslim students, especially those of the Northwest provinces, for university education in Peiping,

1. The C.C. Clique advocated the policy of absorption.  
Supra: 110.

2. Hoover, "...Muslims...Tough," AAA, Dec. 1938, p. 721.



Shanghai and Nanking. During World War II the number of Muslim representatives in the National Congress reached eight. Besides, they had two representatives in the Central Political Council.

Meanwhile Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, in his public speeches during the Sino-Japanese War repeatedly put emphasis on the point that Muslims in China are essentially a religious group, no less than the Buddhists, Taoists, Protestants and Catholics. This emphasis by the nation's Supreme leader, closed the argument whether "Muslims in China are a racial group," distinct from the other Chinese. Hence they are no longer referred to as 'Hui-Tzu' (Muslim Race), but 'Hui-Chiao-jen' (followers of Islam).<sup>1</sup> They still remained so in the Chinese Republic.

3. Contributions of the Muslims in the Sino-Japanese War

These Chinese followers of Islam, being loyal to the national Government, took an active part in defending the national cause, under the leadership of General Pai Chung Hsi,<sup>2</sup> who, being a patriot and soldier, founded the All-China Muslim National Salvation Federation in 1938 and directed Muslim activities against the Japanese propaganda influence in China as well as in the Muslim world.

In answering to the national call, this Federation's immediate task was to organize the Muslims, to mobilize their moral force and material resources for the support of the National Government in fighting the Japanese. During the war

1. John Kin. "Allah Flays Japan," AAA, March 1942, p.174.

2. A Sketch of his life is found in Friends of Muslims, Jan. 1, 1943, pp. 7-9.



years the Muslims, under its direction, participated with enthusiasm and sincerity in the Resistance activities in addition to many other activities. It had its headquarters in Chungking, the war capital, during the war years, then moved to Nanking after V.J. Day. It had 33 provincial centers, 400 district branches and more than 900 local offices all over the country.

Its chief activities were divided on the following lines:

(a) In conformity with the national policy, the Federation under took to direct all necessary unofficial activities organized by the Muslim public, including propaganda, raising contributions in cash, or in working hours from those who could not afford to make contributions in cash.

(b) In cooperating with and supporting the National Government to carry out the civil education among the Muslims (about 200 elementary schools were established for this purpose), to promote Middle School education and to encourage Muslim students to continue their higher education in Universities with scholarships and financial aid.

(c) For the purpose of effecting cultural intercourse and promoting friendly relations between China and Muslim countries, selected students were sent to Egypt, Turkey, and other Muslim countries.

(d) For the purpose of gaining sympathy and moral support of the Muslim countries of the Middle East for China in the Sino-Japanese War. Several good will missions were sent to the Middle East, including a Haj Mission sent in 1938 to counter the propaganda of a Japanese Mission which arrived in



Mecca at the same time. These Chinese Muslims Mission toured all over the Muslim countries and visited India while on their way home. In 1939 the Federation's Mission was sent to Malaya and Java. During World War II two more Missions visited the Middle East. They made contacts with leading personalities in these countries. In 1949 again a Mission was sent to Karachi, capital of the newly established Muslim State of Pakistan. It was primarily due to the activities of these Chinese Muslim Missions that a close understanding and friendship was established between the Republic of China and the Governments and the people of the Middle East Muslim countries which remain in support of the Republic of China even today.

With the Communist's occupation of the mainland, the Federation moved its headquarters to Taipei, along with the National Government, continuing its activities in directing the Muslims to support the Taiwan Government.



(iv) Japanese Policy toward the Chinese Muslims  
Before World War II

After the World War I Japan began to pay attention to the Muslims in China and in order to prepare the ground work to enlist the support of the Muslims she sent agents to make studies on the Muslims' conditions in China.

According to Mr. Yang Ching-chih whose article appeared in Pacific Affairs (Dec. 1942) under the title "Japan - the Protector of Islam,"<sup>1</sup> a condensed form of which was reproduced in the Friends of Moslems (Jan. 1, 1943, pp. 3-6) "the Kokuryu (Black Dragon), and Ronin (Wave-men) took the leading roles. The former organization sent one Sawamura first to Manchuria, then to Peiping. There through the recommendations of some Chinese Muslims he embraced Islam. In the name of being a Muslim, he travelled through Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang, Chinghai and stayed for three months at Linhsia (Hochow), the Chinese Muslim Center in Northwestern China. Then he visited Lanchow, Sian, Han-Chung, Chengtu, Sikang whence he proceeded to Yunnan. From Kunming he came to Chungking and sailed down the river and visited Muslim Centers in Hupeh, Kiangsi, Anhui and Kiangsu. He ended his extensive tour at Chuan-chow, where he delved into all available historical data on Islam in China. This man spent in all more than thirteen years in China."

"The Ronin despatched to China a man named Sakuma Sada.

1. Yang Ching-chih. op. cit., pp. 471-479.



His tour covered the northern provinces, and Outer Mongolia. Thence he took the Trans-Siberia Railway and entered Sinkiang. There he made exhaustive studies of the Kazaks, Tartars and the Tungans. Later on he visited the Middle East and India. Then he returned to Shanghai. It was in Shanghai that he in 1923 started a magazine known as the Light of Islam in which he wrote articles under the pen-name Tso Chung-shan, attacking the Chinese Government for certain alleged oppressive measures taken against the Chinese Muslims, with an intention to rouse the resentment of the Muslims against the Government. His views, however, drew considerable opposition from the Board of Directors of the Islamic School in Shanghai; the Muslims in Shanghai did not like to be drawn into political controversy with the Government."<sup>1</sup>

After the occupation of Manchuria, Janan's efforts to enlist the support of the Muslim opinion in favor of her policy were carried out in three directions: One direction was aimed at the Muslims in China; the other was at the entire Muslim world and the third was to organize the Muslim refugees in Japan for Japan's imperial design in China and Asia.

In the first direction, the Japanese in July 1932 set up in Changchun the first organization for Chinese Muslims in the northwest, known as the Islamic League, hoping thereby to gain the support of the Muslims in Manchuria for the "Manchukuo" regime. Some opportunists took advantage of the chance afforded them and participated in the organization, but the bulk of

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1. Friends of Moslems, Jan. 1, 1943, p. 4.



Muslims in the Northwest remained indifferent.

In the winter of the same year the Japanese instigated an influential Muslim named Li Chi-chung to start an uprising in Tientsin in the hope of undermining the loyalty of the Chinese Muslims in the Peiping-Tientsin area. This attempt was abortive, as the Muslim leaders in the area brought the matter to the attention of the authorities in time for action against the rising.

The second direction was the Japanese Muslim Missions visiting the Middle East countries. In 1933, Tanaka Yasuhira, a member of the Young Officers Clique, who apparently embraced Islam in the 1920's and had made his first visit to Mecca in 1925 at the head of a number of Japanese Muslims, including Nakao Hitea, an authority on Islamic affairs, undertook to lead a second Japanese Muslim Mission to the Haj in Mecca. His mission this time included Yamoto Taro and two young officers. Mr. Yasuhira, however, died of Malaria in Arabia, but Yamoto Taro, taking this opportunity, made an extensive tour in the Muslim countries. At last he arrived in Kabul, where he remained for some time, investigating the conditions on the borders of Afghanistan.<sup>1</sup>

In 1935 another Mission was organized by the Japanese Kwantung Army and the South Manchurian Railway Administration, together with several commercial concerns, including the Mitsubishi Shoji Kaisha and the Mitsu Bussan Kaisha. This mission consisted of Suzuki Tsu-yomi, Hasokawa Hata and Nosezo.

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1. Ibid., p. 3.



This Nosezo went to Mecca again in 1936 while Tsuyomi led the 1937 Haj Mission to Mecca which, for the first time included a Chinese Muslim from "Manchukuo," in the person of Chang Shih-an.

In 1938 the Japanese Government sent five Chinese Muslims from Peiping, which was under occupation now, to the Haj in Mecca for the purpose of making contacts with the leaders of the Muslim world. Their activities were, however, encountered by a strong Chinese Muslim student Mission consisting of 25 students from Cairo, who were ordered by their supreme leader General Pai Chung-hsi to go to Mecca and to watch the activities of the enemy agents there.

With regard to the third direction, apart from those few Japanese who had become Muslims for political reasons, there had been in Japan a number of Muslim refugees who fled their homelands in Central Asia after the Russian revolution. Among these refugees were many distinguished scholars of Turkish origin, such as Sheikh Abdul Rashid Ibrahim, Abdul Hay Qurban Ali, Ayyas Ishaqi Beg, Alam Atlas, etc.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, there had been a large number of Indian Muslim merchants in Japan who were zealots for their religion. Taking the advantage of the presence of those Muslims in Japan, the Japanese Government sponsored an Islamic movement in Japan, by giving financial help and other facilities to the Muslims and allowing them to build mosques in Tokyo and Kobe, which were opened with official

1. Alam Atlas now is employed by US Government in "Voice of America," Washington, D.C.



blessing.<sup>1</sup> Besides, the Turkish refugees were organized in such a way that they became the instruments for Japanese propaganda to the Muslim countries. They had their schools and press, and a Monthly was published in Turkish from Japan, describing the activities of the Muslim life in Japan and the interest taken by the Japanese officials in promoting the cause of Islam in Japan. A Chinese Muslim paper "Cheng Tao," (The Right-Path) published in Peking, in its number of July, 1933, wrote in one of its articles that the "Emperor of Japan had issued a decree permitting his subjects to become Muslims, if they wish. According to the same source of information, there were more than 250 Turkish students in Japan, studying in Japanese Universities at the expense of the Japanese Government.

During the years between 1931 and 1938 a Cairo Arabic Weekly "Al-Fath" in which Muslim World news was usually welcomed, published a number of articles sent by those Turkish Muslim leaders who had been treated well by Japan and made Japan their home. The purpose of these articles was two-fold: One was to counter the influence of the Chinese Muslim students who made a name there in the Cairo Arabic press and among educated circles; the other was to promote a better understanding between Japan and the Muslim countries. The effects of these articles were great, judging by the arguments sometimes raised by personalities very friendly to the Chinese Muslim students, asking them why did they not believe in Japan's sincerity in advocating the

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1. Details about Muslim Movement in Japan is to be found in Abdul Aziz, The Crescent in the Land of the Rising Sun (London 1941).



Muslim cause in Japan and why did they take such a hostile attitude toward Japan, which in their opinion did Muslims no wrong.

#### Intensified Activity in Organizing the Chinese Muslims by Japan During 1937-38.

Japan's activities among the Muslims in China took a vigorous turn following the outbreak of Sino-Japanese hostilities in 1937. The organization of a Chinese Muslim League in Peiping was the first step toward enlisting the support of the entire Muslim population in China for Japan's 'New Order in East Asia.' Preparations were started shortly after the Japanese occupation of Peiping. Takukaki (Takagaki?) Shinzo, attached to headquarters of the Imperial Forces in North China, was in charge, assisted by a Peiping Muslim, Liu Chin-piao. The inaugural ceremony was held in February 1938 in the presence of Kita Seichi and Shigekawa of the Special Bureau of the Japanese War Ministry, together with the leading officials of the Peiping regime under Japanese control.

The headquarters of the League was located at the former Northwestern University. Its ensign bore the Muslim Crescent Moon and Stars on a Blue background. This was hoisted together with the Rising-Sun flag of Japan during the inaugural ceremony.<sup>1</sup>

This Japanese sponsored League had as its official organ a magazine entitled Islam, containing photographs, special articles, features on Muslim leaders, customs and

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1. Friends of the Moslems, January 1, 1943, p. 5.



habits, surveys, news on the activities of the Muslims in China and the Middle East. The current emergency expenses of the League were above \$500,000.

For its field work the League divided the country into six main areas: North China, the Northwest, Outer Mongolia, Central China, South China and the Southwest, each with a regional Center. During the years 1938-41 the League established 394 branches. Of these, 84 belonged to the Peiping area, 62 to the Tientsin area, 61 to Honan, 43 to the Taiyuan area and 144 to other regions, including Taiwan.<sup>1</sup>

The North China area with Center in Peiping was under charge of a committee of 9 members and 12 honorary members, most of whom were Chinese Muslims, who, due to family or other reasons, were unable to leave Peiping at the time of occupation. Ma Sung-ting, a famous Muslim leader and the head of the Cheng-Tah Normal School, was offered \$400,000 (Chinese currence) if he remained with his school in Peiping.<sup>2</sup> But being a Nationalist, he left with all his staff and students for Kweilin, Kwangsi. Thus the Japanese made Wang Anong, the former Imam of the Niu Kai (牛街) Mosque, the Chairman of the Peiping Muslim League Center. This Anong died two years later. However, the real executive power of the Peiping Muslim League was in the hands of Takukaki (Takagaki?) Shinzo who occupied in it an advisery position and Liu Chin-piao, the Counsellor. Takukaki Shinzo was a graduate of a commercial College

1. Ibid., p. 5.

2. Kin, op. cit., AAA, March 1942, p. 172.



in Japan. He went to US to study economics in Columbia University. Upon his completion of his studies in USA, he joined Vasva Bharati, Tagore's Institute at Santiniketan, Bengal. At one time he served as an adviser to the Afghan Government and through the recommendation of an Afghan General he embraced Islam and adopted the name Abdullah.

Through the Chinese Muslim League Japan tried to cultivate the good will of the Chinese Muslims by enlisting Chinese Muslim personnel. To do this, the Japanese appropriated funds for the repair and reconstruction of the aged mosque lying in decayed condition in the Niu Kai (牛街), which is one of the largest and oldest in Peiping. The Muslims as the most favored in the eyes of the Japanese were supplied with special passes which gave them greater freedom of movement than ordinary Chinese. In all disputes involving Muslims and non-Muslims the Japanese and the Peiping authorities always decided in favor of the former, a discriminating step calculated to separate the Muslims from the Chinese and to create internal dissension.

It was these Japanese activities that astonished Mr. Lyman Hoover when he arrived in Japan in March 1938, and found on the front page of the Japanese English paper called "The Japan Advertiser" a headline which read: "Fifty million Chinese Mohammadans announce intention to combat the menace of Communism." The same paper contained another article on the formation of a Muslim League which had declared its absolute support of the Provisional Government in Peiping and its desire



to cooperate with Japan.<sup>1</sup>

Again, early in April, a Tokyo wireless despatch printed by the Peking and Tientsin Times (British owned) relayed a message from Suiyuan to the effect that 'separate movement by ten million Mohammedans in the four northwestern provinces of Ninghsia, Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang was gaining strength.'<sup>2</sup>

With the advance of the Japanese army, this Chinese Muslim League extended its establishments in South China in 1939. Its South Headquarters was established at Canton, in the 'Minar' Mosque, which dates from the Tang Dynasty.

Apart from these activities, Japan made special plans to enlist the services of Chinese Muslim youths for the promotion of the "New Order for East Asia." A Chinese Muslim Youth Corps Organization was set up. Upon graduation, from a course of special training most of the members were assigned to work in the Special Service Department of the Japanese Imperial Forces in North China. Other favors showed by the Japanese toward the Chinese Muslims consisted in subsidising Muslim schools. One which received substantial financial help from the Japanese authorities was the Northwestern Educational Center for Muslims in Peiping. Another was the Shin Chieh Girls Middle School which was established in 1937. In Dairen the Japanese established an Islamic Cultural Institute headed by a Chinese Muslim named Chang Teh-chun. Some Muslim students were sent to Japan.<sup>3</sup>

1. Hoover, "China's Muslims Must Choose," AAA, Nov. 1938, p. 657.

2. Ibid., p. 658.

3. Pacific Affairs : Dec. 4, 1942, p. 478.







(v) The Chinese Communists and the Muslim  
Minority in China

1. Communists and Muslims in 1937-38

During the years 1937-38, Chinese Muslim loyalty and support were claimed by three sides: by the Chinese National Government, by the Japanese military authorities and by the Chinese Communists in their consolidation of power along the Hopei-Shensi - Kansu Borders, with a view, apparently in co-operation with the Chinese National Government, to resist the Japanese menace. In doing so the Communists made a bargain with the Chinese Muslims. They made a bid for the Chinese Muslims' support in the name of stopping the Japanese advance. According to Mr. Hoover's findings, when he arrived at Peiping in April 1938, the Communists sent them a circular letter in which they "praised the followers of Islam for the solidarity of their far flung communities and the bravery of their fighting men; they also mentioned the wrongs Muslim villages had suffered or might expect from the invading Nipponese armies and urged them to invest all their assets in the effort to stop the Japanese advance."<sup>1</sup>

The "Communists made to the Muslims a most appealing list of promises, as a price for their support. These promises included abolition of surtaxes, helping in forming an autonomous Muslim Government, cancellation of debts, prohibition of

1. Hoover. "...Muslims...Choose," AAA, 1938, pp. 657-658.



conscription, protection of 'Muslim culture,' freedom of worship for all sects, assistance in the creation and arming of an anti-Japanese Muslim army, and help towards the unity of all the Mohammedans of China, Outer Mongolia, Sinkiang and Soviet Russia."<sup>1</sup>

The Communists seemed to have had Muslims with them in their army. A U S correspondent who was in Peiping at that time told Mr. Hoover that he had himself seen a whole brigade of Muslim troops led by Muslim officers, occupying their own quarters and equipped with their own kitchens, but operating fully with the larger "people's army" in Central Hopei of which they are a part.

While in China, Mr. Hoover further learned that the Ahong of a prominent mosque had just returned from his home village near Paoting. He reported that the Communists there were treating the people well and were much liked by the Muslims and others under their jurisdiction and frankly predicted that if such good treatment continued, many more Muslims would actively cooperate with them in their opposition to the Japanese North China Government.<sup>2</sup>

In the year 1938, the National Government, while contending against Japan's attempt to enlist Chinese Muslim's support, did not pay much attention to the Communists' move among the Muslims in North China. Thus some of Muslims went to the fold of the Communists, believing that they were going to fight the Japanese. Nevertheless, the majority of the Muslims,

1. Ibid., p. 660.

2. Ibid., p. 658.



especially those in the Northwest provinces which were under the jurisdiction of the National Muslim Generals not only did not join the Communist, but also resisted their temptation with great sacrifice and courage. As an illustration we may mention the Weichow Muslim resistance.

Weichow is a city west of Sian, Shensi, near the border of Kansu and its 10,000 inhabitants were nearly all Muslims. To them the Communist Commander of the neighboring regions sent his officers - two Muslims - asking to meet the leader of the Muslim city and "to discuss with them the question of an autonomous Muslim District Government." The Communist officers claimed that they had in their army already more than "10,000 Muslim soldiers."

The Muslim leader of the city refused to see them, arguing: "If the country's life and death is in question, the activities of the Muslims should be guided by the Supreme National Leader, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, not by others. Moreover, Governor Ma (Ma Hung Kwei) is our great Muslim leader and we can not discuss any such political questions without his permission. If you come to occupy this city by force, we are ready to defend it with firm belief and with warm blood." Consequently this city had been the target of Communists' attack several times. Every time they came to attack, they were repulsed. The Muslims defended this city until the arrival of reinforcements from Governor Ma Hung-kwei. It was finally saved.<sup>1</sup>

1. Fu Thong-hsien, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-182.



## 2. Communists in Northwest China and Sinkiang

As the Sino-Japanese War went on, the situation in Northwest China became more difficult for the National Government, which had moved to Chungking, to exercise effective control. The whole area was then almost left to the loyalty of the Muslim Generals of the Ma family, who, being unable to reconcile themselves with the Communist ideology, resisted their influence as best they could. But the military cooperation, as a wartime necessity, between the National Government and the Soviet Union, offered the Chinese Communists golden opportunities for their consolidation of power during the war years in Hopei and Chahar, whence they sprang to Manchuria after the V.J. Day. At the same time, Russian influence in Sinkiang became more and more pronounced. Thus Sinkiang as well as the China mainland was lost to the Communists in 1949.

As the political development in Sinkiang, since the days of the Manchus' rule, affected the situation in the Northwest China, so the loss of Sinkiang, a province of 94 per cent Muslim population, to the Communists in the last stage of the Nationalist-Communist struggle, sealed the fate of the Chinese Muslims along with those in Central Asia. This story, according to Mr. Issa Yusuf, Secretary General of Masoud Sabri's Government at Urumchi, was the master work of General Chang Chi-chung, once right hand man of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek, and Liu Men-chung, right hand man of General Chang Chi-chung. General Chung had been the Director of the Military and Political Headquarters of Northwest China from 1946 to 1949, and Liu served under him as Secretary-General of that command.



In 1949 when the situation in China became worse, President Chiang sent Chang to Peiping to negotiate on the National Government's behalf with the Communists for a peaceful settlement. Chang went and joined the Communists in Peiping and never came back to the National Government. He then sent Mr. Chu Wu, a Russian educated officer, to Liu, his Secretary General, who was at that time in Urumchi, asking him to prepare the way for a final Communist occupation of Sinkiang. Liu carefully carried out his master's plan: first he induced General Tao Chih-yao, Chinese Commander-in-Chief in Sinkiang, and Burhan Khan, Governor of Eastern Turkistan (the Ili Region) to join him. With the cooperation of these influential men, Liu could challenge the position of the pro-Nationalist officers, both military and political. They were told either to leave the country or join the pro-Communist group.

At this point General Ma Cheng-hsiang, nephew of General Ma Pu-fang, who was a strong pro-Nationalist Muslim General, consulted Issa Yusuf, the Secretary-General and Amin Bogra, Deputy Governor of Sinkiang and other high officials, as to whether the Russians would leave them in peace in Sinkiang if he had the 'three big heads - pro-Communist heads - cut off. But he could not do so, obviously because at this very moment news from Northwest China foretold that Sinkiang would not remain in the Nationalists' hands very long. Meanwhile the conditions in Sinkiang leaned heavily in favor of pro-Communists against the pro-Nationalists.

The military command of Northwest China, after Chang Chi-chung went over to the Communists, was entrusted to General



Ma Pu-fang, who carried on the defense of Northwest China. The Communists pressed hard on him from Shensi and Suiyuan. He asked for reenforcement and the Central Government ordered General Wu Chung-nan, who was stationed at that time at Taiyuan, Shansi, to go to Ma's help. But, Wu, being jealous of Ma's sudden ascendancy to power, did not move. Thus, after 20 days' fighting, Ma's defense line collapsed and on 25 August 1949 his army was routed by the Communists at Lanchow. In this single battle, Ma lost 20,000 of his soldiers. Ma, however, himself managed to fly out with his son and a few members of his family to the south, then to Hongkong. With Ma's defeat and the occupation by the Communists of Kansu, the fate of Sinkiang was doomed.

At the same time the development in the Ili region hastened the Communists' take-over of Sinkiang. Rumors spread out from the Russian Consulate-General at Urumchi that the troops from the three semi-independent districts, Ili, Chungucha and Altai would march to attack Urumchi. This news, whether true or false, told the tale that Soviet Russia would not leave the Nationalist officers in peace if they attempted the life of the pro-Communist leaders in the province.<sup>1</sup> Finding no way to save the situation, the Nationalist high officials, among whom were Amin Bogra, Deputy Governor, Issa Yusuf the Secretary General, Jalaluddin Wah Zen-shan, Director of Civil Administration, General Ma Cheng-hsiang and a number of about 500 junior officers, made their flight to India through the Himalayan

1. Issa Yusuf's statement, p. 3.



passes during the coldest season of 1949. The US Consul-General, Mr. Hall-Paxton and his wife also were evacuated to India by the same way.

### 3. Chinese Muslims Under the Communist Regime

With the establishment of the Chinese Communist regime at Peiping in 1949 and its full control over the mainland, almost the entire Muslim population in China was forced to live under the Communist rule with the exception of a fortunate few who are wealthy and made plans to escape before hand. Among these were a small number of Muslim military and political leaders, who accepted General Chiang Kai-Shak as their National leader, fought for the Nationalist Government and remained loyal to it, moving to Formosa with the Government. A few of them took residence at Hongkong. General Ma Hung-kwei sought refuge in USA and Ma Pu-fang in Cairo. Of those who came out from Sinkiang, some remained in India and some went to Turkey.

But how are those Muslims who did not come out from the mainland? There are tens of millions of them in China. How many of them died at the hands of the Communists and how many of them died as true Muslims and how many of them are still alive and have to live under the Communist regime? To these questions we have no answer at present. The last statistics of Communist China which puts the whole population about 600,000,000 did not mention the Muslim percentage.

Now whatever may be their number is not a matter of great concern to us but what concerns us most is how are they living under the Communist regime, whether they still retain certain religious freedom and what kind of life the Communist



regime wants them to live. To these questions, perhaps we can furnish some answers, with certain reservations.

According to Moslems in China published by the China Islamic Association, Peking, 1953, it seems that the Communist regime is giving the Muslims what is stated in its Constitution according, at least, to its letter, if not to its spirit.

Article 5 of the Constitution of the Communist regime says:

"The people of the People's Republic of China shall have freedom of thought, speech, publication assembly, religious thought . . ."

Article 9 says: "All nationalities (ethnic groups) within the boundaries of the People's Republic of China shall have equal rights and duties."

Article 51: "Regional authonomy shall be exercised in areas where national minorities are concentrated and various kinds of autonomous organizations of the different nationalities (ethnic groups) shall be set up according to the size of the respective populations and regions. In places where different nationalities (ethnic groups) live together and in the autonomous areas of the national minorities, the different nationalities shall each have an appropriate number of representatives in the local organs of political power."<sup>1</sup>

Article 53 says: "All national minorities shall have freedom to develop their dialects and languages, to preserve or

1. The constitution of the Republic of China recognises "that all people without distinction of sex, religion, color . . . are equal before the law. (Art. 7), the Autonomous situation of Mongolia shall be arranged under special law (Art. 109) and the protection of the autonomy of Tibet (Art. 120). Nothing has been said about Sinkiang.



reform their traditions, customs and religious beliefs. The People's Government shall assist the masses of the people of all national minorities to develop their political, economic, cultural and educational construction work."

In the light of these articles Muslims in China as National Minority groups shall have religious freedom, equal political rights, the freedom of developing their own cultural and educational institutions. They shall equally have autonomous local governments in their special areas and appropriate representations in mixed areas.

Now let us see what actually the Communist regime has done with regards to Muslims in China.

According to the same source of information, the Communist regime has classified the Muslims under ethnic groups. They are the "Huis," the Uighurs, Kazaks, Kirghizes, Tadjiks, Tartars, Uzbeks, Tunghsians (Tungans) Salars, and Pao-ans. Among these ten groups, Uighurs, Kazaks, Kirghizes, Tadjiks, Tartars and Uzbeks are of Turkish origin and they can be welded into a big national minority in Sinkiang, with the Uighurs as the dominating factor. The "Huis" are scattered throughout various cities in China Proper. The "Huis" are not really of a racial or ethnic group, having foreign origin, but Chinese by race, having been converted to Islam in the past centuries. They are called "the Huis" to differentiate them from the "Hans" (the Chinese). It means simply the Chinese Muslims, or you may say, Muslims of Chinese origin. During the 1930's, the Muslims in China raised the question whether the "Huis" should be treated as a religious minority or a racial minority. The



National Government did not like the idea of even the discussion of the problem.<sup>1</sup> Now under the Communist regime, the "Huis" are given a separate entity - a minority national group, having the right to develop their culture and educational institutions within the framework of the Communists political setting. This is a new development in the Chinese Muslim political life which was denied to them by the Republic of China.

We may not believe that the Muslims in China can enjoy their political rights as stated in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, according to its true spirit, but nevertheless they are actually formed into separate entities, for political or other reasons. In the Muslim concentrated areas, they are given recognized "autonomous Muslim districts or regions." We may take for example, Sinkiang. It is virtually an autonomous Muslim Province with Burhan as its Governor and Saifuddin as its Deputy Governor. The great majority of the provincial Government Council members came from the local ethnic Muslim groups. Among the civil servants in the provincial Government, more than 17,000 are people of the Muslim faith. Sixty-seven of the 80 counties' heads in the province are Muslims.

The Moslems of China further stated that "many other national minority autonomous regions have been set up for the Muslim groups. There is a Tunghsian Autonomous Region and a Paoan Autonomous Region in Kansu, a Hui Autonomous Region in Shangwu Village of Huangchung, Chinghai province, and a Hui

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1. Supra p. 117.



Autonomous Region in Kweisui, Sulyaun province. There is also a Hui Autonomous District at Chengchow and Pao-Tow, Hui Autonomous District at Tacheng of Sanho, Hopei. The areas of Ningting, Hwaping, Chang-kia-Chuan in Kansu and many other places would become autonomous Muslim Districts."<sup>1</sup>

In mixed areas in Kansu, Chinghai and Ninghsia, the minorities formed 'local democratic coalition Governments' with non-Muslim groups. In the provincial Government of Kansu, Chinghai and Ninghsia and other provinces where Muslims are found in considerable numbers, one Muslim is elected as the Vice-Chairman of the Provincial Government, in addition to many civil servants of Hui origin, on the lower Government level.

In the People's Central Government, there are many Muslims in its various departments and among the 56 members of the Central People's Government Council, the highest policy making body, two are Muslims: one is of Hui origin and the other is of Uighur origin.

In respect to Muslim cultural and educational life, according to the same source, Sinkiang seems to have made great advance in the cultural field. It says: "Before 'liberation,' more than 80 per cent of its rural population was illiterate, and the vast majority of Muslim children could not afford to go to school. But since the birth of the New China, the People's Government has given great assistance to the Muslims in restoring and developing cultural and educational institutions. Significant achievements have been scored within the period of

1. Moslems in China, (Peking, 1953), pp. 10-11.



1950-52. In all the villages where the Huis or the Uighurs live there are primary schools for their children who comprise more than 50 per cent of all the school-age children of these villages, while in the cities, approximately 70 per cent of school-age children now go to school. Meanwhile some well-known Muslim secondary schools and institutions were restored, such as the Peking Institute for the Hui people, the Third Secondary School in Sian, the Normal School for the Hui people in Ninghsia, and Lungtung Normal School in Kansu. In addition, there are many Muslim students at the Central Institute for the National Minorities students established in 1950, as well as the eight local Institutions for Minorities, National minority students are also admitted to all universities, colleges, secondary schools in the country, and the customs and ways of life of the Muslim students are respected."

"In addition to the Sinkiang Institute for the National Minorities which has more than 800 students of various ethnic groups, there are in Sinkiang 63 secondary schools with more than 16,000 students, representing a 63.5 percent increase over the 'pre-liberation' period. The primary schools number more than 1,700 with total enrolment of more than 300,000; 58 percent more than in the 'pre-liberation' period. Most of these students and pupils come from Muslim families. Sinkiang has also made great progress in the sphere of the press and publications. Publications in this province include eight dailies, three periodicals in Uighuri, five newspapers and magazines in Kazak dialect, and many books in these two languages. Other cultural and educational organs have also



been rapidly restored or established. Up to 1953 there were 63 theatres, cinemas and dance clubs, all popular education centers, serving the masses."

With respect to religious life, according to Burhan, Chairman of the Sinkiang Provincial Government and concurrently the Chairman of the China Islamic Association, the People's Government issued a circular letter order for the observance of the three Muslim Festivals: Id-Fitr, Bairam and Mould Nabi.<sup>1</sup> He said: "Our customs and ways of life are respected and no one interferes with our religious practices." Furthermore, "the Government abolished the taxes on animals to be slaughtered for Muslim consumption. On the festival days, Government offices and schools grant holidays to the cadres and students of Muslim faith. "In Government organizations, military units, factories and schools, consideration is given to the habits and customs of the cadres, soldiers, workers and students of Muslim faith." Protection was extended to mosques and 'Kubbahs' (Tombs of Muslim Saints). Landed properties belonging to mosques are left untouched by the Agrarian Reform Law. Moreover, the People's Government gave assistance to repair the mosques at Tung Szepailou, Peking, of Shiao Tao-Yuan, Shanghai, the Fenghuang Mosque, Hangchow, and mosques of other places."

Burhan's statement was made on 18 October 1952 before the Peace Conference of the Asian and the Pacific Regions held at Peking which was attended by delegates from India, Pakistan

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1. The Prophet's Birthday.



and Indonesia. What he said seemed to be factual truth, but with some exaggeration. The factual truth lies in the fact that Communist regime actually recognized the Moslems as minority national groups and in some places gave them local autonomous government -- a promise which was made to them even in 1937-38. It is true that many of their ancient mosques were repaired, and the Tung Sze-pailou Mosque was newly gilded and its beautiful Arabic writings on the wall were refurnished. Other mosques, like the Niukai Mosque, in Niu Kai, Peking, the 'Minar' Mosque at Canton and the Chikin Mosque at Hangchow were given a new appearance.

As far as their culture and education is concerned, now the Muslims in China have the highest Muslim Institute, called the Peking Institute for the Hui people, which has an enrolment of more than one thousand students of both sexes, the purpose of which is to study the Muslim religion according to the new age. The former Chengtah Normal School and Fuad Library now form essential parts of this new Institution. Besides, the Muslims, especially those in Sinkiang, have an Institute called the "Central Institute for National Minorities of the Muslim People," established in 1950 in Peking exclusively for the Muslims, with eight branches in the Northwest China. The purpose of this Institute is to develop the language and culture of the different Muslim groups in Communist China, according to their tradition and 'wishes.' Now they have books and newspapers published abundantly in Uighuri and Kazak languages. Meanwhile Arabic, Persian and even Urdu are taught in the Peking Institute for the Hui people, for both religious purposes and the purpose



of introduction to Middle East studies.

The exaggeration in Burhan's statement is that he pictured Sinkiang under the Communist regime as 'paradise,' which was only a dream and now became a truth. The Sinkiang people are very happy. But he overlooks the fact that politically the Muslims cannot speak a single word in criticising the Communist regime. Moreover, the Communists seem to carry on a policy to 'develop the culture and language of the national minority groups, in order to preserve and to 'reform' their customs, traditions and 'religious beliefs.'" Consequently their cultural development and religious beliefs have to undergo a change through the policy of Communist reform which they cannot escape in any way.



### CONCLUSIONS

In the past the Muslim minority in China had their good days and bad days, and whether their future will be better or worse is a matter, depending largely on their own attitude in accepting things as they come, on internal situations in China and on international forces that may come to play in Far Eastern politics.

In their good days, we saw them as prosperous merchants in the Sung Dynasty, as high officials in the Mongol Imperial administration, and as distinguished Generals, Courtiers, and scholars in the service of the Imperial Ming Dynasty. In their bad days we saw their frequent uprisings against political oppression and the ill-treatment they received at the hands of corrupt local officials. But owing to no organized efforts and the lack of genuine leadership, their attempts in maintaining their position or defending their own interests often proved abortive, and consequently they sustained enormous loss in life and property and prestige which they could not recover.

The change from Monarchy to Republic in China gave them a new sense of the necessity to organize and encouraged them to participate in the general political life of the country, yet, being backward in education and in economic conditions, they could not accomplish anything substantial. Their activities up to 1930 were limited to organization and education in which they made some success. By 1931 the Japanese occupation of



Manchuria imposed on them a heavy national duty which placed them standing by the side of the National Government in defending the country against the invader. At the same time Sinkiang affairs also attracted their attention.

A period of great trial for the Muslim minority in China was 1937-38 in which their loyalty and support were sought or claimed by three sides, simultaneously: by the National Government, by the Japanese and by the Chinese Communists, and every side showed considerable favor towards them. It is at this period that the importance of the Muslim situation in China was wittingly or unwittingly recognized by contestants for political power in China.

As far as the Muslims themselves were concerned, the big majority of them during these years of trial remained loyal to the National Government. Those who went in alliance with the Japanese occupation forces in the north, were under forced circumstances, and those who worked with the Communists on the Hopei and Chahar Borders were under the influence of powerful allurments. But with the defeat of Japan in the World War II, the question of the Chinese Muslim alliance with Japan ended. This, however, established one fact, that Muslims in China, in an international conflict, may be exploited by a potential power which is China's enemy.

Muslim support to the National Government during World War II and in its fight against the Communists following V.J. Day was substantial as shown by the sincere and patriotic efforts of General Pai Chung-hsi and the loyal attitude of the Muslim leaders who controlled the area of Northwest China.



For this they shared the same fate of the National Government, and the future of the National Government will be theirs too.

But the main Muslim population on the mainland has been undergoing a tremendous transformation, politically, socially, culturally and mentally under the vigorous Communist discipline. The most remarkable and amazing thing is that the Communist authorities have allowed them sufficient religious freedom, with a program of establishing autonomous local self-Government in their special areas, regions and districts, and has assisted them to develop their own languages, culture and given them practical training in maintaining order and security in their special localities.

What may be the ultimate objective of the Communists' high policy with regard to the Muslims in China, nobody knows. It may be said that the 'concentration' of Muslims in special areas and regions, is for the purpose of 'vigorous control,' and to encourage or to help the development of their languages and cultures, is to 'keep them divided and in separate ethnic groups,' so that they may not be 'danger to the Communist State.' In this same way to grant them autonomous local government is to 'utilize their collective efforts and energy' for a higher end of the Communist State Policy.

But in spite of all these probabilities in the Communists' secret policy, the recognition of their minority status on an ethnic basis in China, will remain in history which any future regime in China can hardly alter. This seems to be one of the important results produced by Chinese Communism in relation to the Muslims in China.



The second equally important result will be that, through the system of autonomous local Governments, the Muslims may have sufficient political training in managing their own affairs within the framework of the Communist regime. This will enable them to know things better in a changed circumstance.

The third result will be that they will have a balanced and better organized economy in relation to their own daily needs. The experience they gain in the autonomous government will benefit them greatly.

The fourth seems to be that the Muslim minority in China will stay even in Red-China with their religion, as long as the Muslims do not do anything against the will of the authority. The Communists will come to exploit the religion which the Muslims believe for fostering a policy of far-reaching consequences. They want the Muslims to remain with them in their proper way and manners, which contain nothing capitalistic or imperialistic, in helping them to develop a better relationship between Communist China and the Middle East countries. Communist China cannot live alone. It needs friends too and for this reason it encourages the studies of Arabic, Persian and Urdu languages in the Peking Institute for the Hui People. Concrete evidence of the Red China policy may be gathered from the recent talks which took place between the Communist authority and M. Hasan Al-Bagori, Minister of Religious Endowments of Egypt, during his visit to Peking after the Bandung Conference. Their talks centered on the exchange of cultural missions between Egypt and China. The Egyptian Minister inspected Muslims' institutions in Peking



and found that Muslims had great liberty in practicing their religion. He was told that in Red China there are now 9 high institutes exclusively for Muslims, with a total enrolment of 15,000 students, in addition to 265 high schools with 127,000 students.<sup>1</sup>

The Muslims in China today are not the same as those in the Manchu days or in the days of the Republic. Their activities are under Government control and direction. For these purposes their activities are organized into two categories. One is political, under the direction of the All-China Islamic Association, established in 1953, which includes the most representative figures of the Muslim faith throughout China, with the objective to 'help the Government to implement the policy the religious freedom as provided in the 'Common Program.'

The other is cultural, under the direction of China Muslim Cultural Association - a nation-wide association with branches in all Muslim districts and villages. Its objective is to develop fraternal relations, friendships, unity and cooperation between all the Muslim Minority groups, scattered all over China.

Under the directives of the Communist policy, the Muslims have become more political-minded. They take active parts in the movement to defend the 'World Peace.' They signed the Stockholm Appeal and the Appeal for the 'Five Powers Peace Pact.' They have voted against the rearmament of Japan by the

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1. Al-Musawwar, Cairo, July 3, 1955, pp. 9-13.



United States. On May 2, 1951, Ahongs and Mullahs of 46 mosques in Urumchi called a meeting attended by 3,500 people at which prayers were offered for "World Peace."<sup>1</sup> They showed great sympathy to Muslim countries which are still under the oppression of a foreign power, struggling for independence and self-rule. They are no longer isolated by distance. They are pushed to look at the affairs of the Muslim World from the Communist viewpoint, with the ultimate objective to bring the Middle East Muslim countries nearer to Communist China. It is a quite different question if they have not succeeded in their objective, owing to the international situation. But no one will ignore the fact that they now have "organized activities" and better directions in mingling with other peoples' affairs. This experience will teach them a better way in maintaining their position as a potential factor in China at any future time.

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1. Moslems in China, p. 12.



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